A HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN WORK
AMONG THE PIMA AND PAPAGO INDIANS OF ARIZONA

by

John M. Hamilton

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: ORGANIZATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND CULTURAL SURVEY OF THE PIMA AND PAPAGO INDIANS

For many years an interest has been maintained by the laity in the work of the Presbyterian Church among the Pima and Papago Indians. The majority of facts and dates have been hidden in reports and field data and in no instance has a comprehensive picture been presented to show the organization of the church in its relation to the development of religious and educational work among these tribes.

In order to understand the relation of the Indian churches to the rest of the Presbyterian Church and to see how the whole organization is joined together, it is necessary to know something of the machinery of the Presbyterian Church.

While the various Presbyterian groups may differ in their organization and in the power and duties of certain officers, there are three basic characteristics which all hold in common and which they can not relinquish without giving up their Presbyterianism. These are: (1) Government of the Church by elders who are the representatives of the people, (2) The parity of the Presbyters, of which there is no higher order of office in the Church, (3) The unity of the Church represented by a conciliar system of government.

1 J. N. Ogilvie, The Presbyterian Churches, Their Place and Power in Modern Christendom, pp. 1-2.
The delegated governing authority, which is the first distinctive feature of Presbyterianism, is given to the ministers and ruling elders and is exercised in an ascending series of four courts which will be discussed later. A second distinctive feature of Presbyterianism is its creed, expressed in the Westminster Confession of Faith. The third distinctive feature to be mentioned is the educational position of the Church, which insists on an educated and trained leadership. Not only does the Church desire its ministry well trained, but it also seeks a high level of intellectual life among its elders.

These three features embody the foundation of Presbyterianism and, in order to present good government, the government of the Church is exercised under a definite form, which is government by congregational, presbyterial and synodical assemblies. These assemblies have no civil authority, but only moral or spiritual power. These judicatories or courts in the Church differ from state courts in that here they have not only judicial functions, but legislative and executive as well. They are four in number -- the session, the presbytery, the synod, and the General Assembly, graded in order with the lower being subject to the


4 McAfee, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

higher. In each of these four judicatories, a moderator is necessary to carry on business quickly and in an orderly manner.

The session has complete supervision of the spiritual work, the organizations, and the services of the particular congregation which it represents. Appeals from any decision the session may make can be taken to the next highest court, the Presbytery, which is made up of all of the ministers in a certain area. To constitute a Presbytery there must be at least five ministers and at least one elder from each church. While these presbyterial lines generally conform to county or city boundaries, the synodical lines generally conform to state lines except in the smaller or less populated states. The synod is composed of pastors and elders from at least three presbyteries.

The highest judicatory in the Presbyterian Church is the General Assembly, which is also the supreme legislative and executive body of the Church. It is composed of an equal number of ministers and elders from each presbytery, chosen by the presbyteries according to their numbers. The meetings of the General Assembly are held annually during the latter part of May or in early June with the sessions lasting seven

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6 A. C. Zenos, Presbyterianism in America, Past, Present and Prospection, p. 19; Pugh, op. cit., pp. 369-370, 381.


8 Pugh, op. cit., p. 343.

9 Hanssche, Our Presbyterian Church, p. 21; Pugh, op. cit., p. 347.
days. These meetings are held in a different city in one of the five sections into which the country is divided. 10 One of the most important functions of the Assembly is the survey and review of the plans, the administration, and the finances of the Board of National Missions, the Board of Foreign Missions, the Board of Christian Education and the Board of Pensions. These surveys are made by committees of Assembly commissioners and the commissioners also supervise the election of new members to the various Boards which are, in turn, responsible to the Assembly.

Realizing that such a large group as the General Assembly, meeting only once a year, could not properly carry out all the general work of the Church, the makers of the Constitution provided for a General Council, whose duties are divided under two general groups: those which it must perform itself and those which it sees are performed. The Council is made up of the Moderator of the General Assembly, his nearest living predecessor, one representative of each Board and fifteen members at large elected by the Assembly for three year terms. 11

The administrative work of the various Boards is carried on by a staff in New York City which is responsible for the welfare and progress of each project in each locality. The New York staff of

10 Pugh, op. cit., pp. 549; Hansche, Our Presbyterian Church, pp. 21, 23.

11 Hansche, Our Presbyterian Church, pp. 22-23.

the Board of National Missions functions in each synod and presbytery through a National Missions Committee in charge of missionary work in its territory.\textsuperscript{13}

The Pima and Papago work is an integral part of the program of this Board of National Missions which came into existence in 1923 as a result of the consolidation of the Board of Home Missions, the Women's Board of Home Missions, the Board of the Church Erection Fund and three other boards which had no direct relationship to the Indian work.\textsuperscript{14}

When this Indian mission work in Arizona first came under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church in 1881, it was located in the Presbytery of Santa Fe, Synod of Colorado, but in 1889 this presbytery was divided and a Synod of New Mexico composed of the Presbyteries of Santa Fe, Rio Grande and Arizona was established with the Pima and Papago work being in the latter presbytery.\textsuperscript{15}

In 1906 the Presbytery of Arizona was considered developed enough to be divided into the Presbytery of Phoenix and the Presbytery of Southern Arizona. The Sacaton, Blackwater, Vah Ki, and Tucson Papago churches were assigned to the Presbytery of Southern Arizona; the others to Phoenix Presbytery.

\textsuperscript{13} "Eighteenth Annual Report of the Board of National Missions" in Minutes of the General Assembly, (July, 1941), p. 156; Hanzsche, Our Presbyterian Church, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{14} L. A. Loetscher, A Brief History of the Presbyterians, p. 74; Mudge and Finney, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

\textsuperscript{15} Minutes of Synod of New Mexico, 1938, p. 34.
Negotiations were entered into in 1911 to bring all of the Indian work under the Presbytery of Phoenix. This action was approved by the General Assembly of 1912 which, at the same time, authorized the making of the Synod of Arizona. By action of the General Assembly of 1940 all of the Papago churches were transferred from the Phoenix Presbytery to that of Southern Arizona.

With this greater organization, the Presbyterian Church was better able to aid the Indians and help them in their advance toward civilization.

The culture of the white man had been slow to penetrate that section of the country where the Pima and Papago tribes lived, and it was not until the end of the 19th Century that plans were begun for extensive development and education of these tribes. However, among all of the Indian tribes with which the white man came in contact as he pushed forward the frontier of his civilization, there were few more friendly and helpful than the Pimas and Papagos who lived in Arizona. The Pimas were known as the Akimult A-a-tam, river people. This was a very fitting name because they lived chiefly along the Gila River. The Papago people were called To-o-no A-a-tam, desert people. They lived in one of the hottest and driest regions in the United States and yet managed to exist, taking


17 This latter word has a number of different spellings, e.g., O-o-tam, Otam, Awautum, Au-o-tum, due to the way the sound fell on the ears of different people.

18 Frank Russell, The Pima Indians, p. 29.
full advantage of the short period of moisture. 19

These two branches of the Piman stock were located in the region lying between the San Pedro River in the east, the Gila River on the north, the Colorado River in the west and as far south as the northern part of Sonora, Mexico. 20 The Pimas were located in the northern part of this area, principally along the Gila and some of its tributaries. Their present location is about the same as it was at the time the first Protestant missionaries appeared, although some of the villages have shifted. 21 The Papagos lived south and southwest of their kinsmen, especially south of Tucson in the main and tributary valleys of the Santa Cruz River, extending west and southwest across the desert for over one hundred miles and down into Sonora. 22

The Pimas could be classified as a sedentary group, existing primarily on agricultural products, while the Papagos migrated seasonally, moving from the flat plain when the rains ended to foothills where there were springs. These people depended more on the native products than did the Pimas. In describing the difference between the two, Beals says, "Culturally the Papagos may be described as Pimas

19 Carl Lumholtz, New Trails in Mexico, p. 24; Ruth Underhill, Social Organization of the Papago Indians, p. 3.


21 Ralph L. Beals, Material Culture of the Pima, Papago and Western Apache, p. 4.

whose culture has been limited and somewhat altered by the desert environment.\textsuperscript{23}

The influence of the white man beginning with the arrival of Father Kino in 1687 and the presence of trappers as early as 1825 brought changes in the living habits of the Indians. While Spanish influence ended officially with the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, their introduction of domestic animals and the opening of mines left an influence which exists to a certain extent even today. T. B. Hall, who was Indian Agent at Sells, Arizona, states in his annual report of 1936 that before the arrival of the white man, the Indians had been practically self-sufficient, but the Americans speeded up the changes which had been begun by the Spanish and, as the area for hunting and gathering wild food decreased, the tribes turned more and more to the commercial production of livestock, subsistence farming, and the sale of cordwood and handicrafts.\textsuperscript{24}

Each of these tribes has had its particular difficulties. Since 1885 the land of the Papagos has been encroached upon by mining companies and by cattle companies which grazed their stock on the Papago ranges, using the already scanty water supply of the Indians.\textsuperscript{25} The history of the Pimas since 1900 has been the struggle for their ancient rights to

\begin{footnotes}
\item[23] Beals, op. cit., pp. 1-2; Underhill, op. cit., p. 4.
\item[24] Hall, op. cit., p. 30a.
\end{footnotes}
water in the Gila River Valley. After the Apaches were controlled and their raids stopped, the Pimas became quite prosperous and progressive for a time. However, about 1900 the water supply was partially cut off by settlers above their reservation, which is located in central Arizona, to the north of the Papagos.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 294-296.}

Following the period of early missions there began the change that officially separated the Pimas and Papagos for, as the United States expanded westward, the Gila route became known and with it the Indians who lived there. Thus, the river people became better known while the desert people, because of their barren, uninviting habitat, remained relatively unknown.\footnote{Underhill, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 28.}

To these peaceful dwellers of the desert, water was the most important factor. If there were none, or if it came too late, they had no crops and the people had to hunt for the native plants which managed to survive in the dry seasons. In farming they had to resort to irrigation which had been practiced for many centuries by the Hohokam, the mysterious predecessors of the Pimas and the constructors of many miles of irrigating ditches in this area.\footnote{Russell, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 67,87.}

Their diet consisted of mixed vegetables and meat.

While it is believed that dogs were the first domesticated animals which the Pimas had, one of Russell's informants, Sala Hine,
stated that her father and his brother had brought cattle to the Pimas about 1820. The Papagos, on the other hand, had had cattle for about one hundred fifty years previous when they had first been introduced by the early missionaries. The presence of horses and cattle in the Papago territory was one of the chief reasons for the recurring raids by the Apaches. Because the Papagos were closer to the mountains, they probably ate more large game than did the Pimas.

The style of the Piman home has undergone changes through the years. When the white man came he found them living in the round, flat-roofed ki, built by a group of ten or fifteen men who gathered for that purpose. In the center of this round house were four crotcheted cottonwood sticks on which two beams were laid and cross poles placed. Around the circle, light willow poles were set in the ground, bent over the central framework, and fastened there. Upon this reeds were placed or wheat straw to support the layer of dirt that was then added. These dwellings averaged from ten to twenty-five feet in diameter. The Papago house differed from that of the Pima only in material and possibly in being of a slightly larger size. The Papagos used mesquite for the main support instead of the cottonwood posts and used sahuaro ribs instead of willow poles. This same difference in home building

29 Russell, op. cit., pp. 84-86.
31 Ibid., p. 154.
32 P. E. Goddard, Indians of the Southwest, p. 129; Beals, op. cit., p. 15.
holds true to a large extent today. The first adobe house was built in the Pima country in 1880 and thus was the forerunner of many of the modern homes which are adobe and average about sixteen by twenty feet in size.

Several of these homes, containing three or more families and having a place name, constitute a village on the reservation and residence in these villages in the past could be obtained only by marriage or by invitation. Before the government wells were dug, it was not possible for a village to have year around residence on the Papago reservation. Each village, therefore, might be said to have dual existence — in the foothills and on the plain. With the end of the Apache raids, the introduction of livestock, and the digging of wells, the village sites shifted and spread out because houses were destroyed at the death of their owner. The villages tend to be rambling even today.

There were many differences between the two tribes in the government of these villages. The Pima had a head chief and a chief and council for each village. This office of head chief was not hereditary, but elective and the village chiefs were responsible for the choice. However, since the Papago had no central government, each Papago village

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34 Hall, op. cit., p. 4.

35 Beals, op. cit., p. 17; Hall, op. cit., p. 57.
unit was autonomous, and when two or more groups joined for any partic-
cular purpose, the union was only temporary. In every village the
nightly men’s meeting was the governing body of the community. Both
groups had various local officials, some of whom were very important.

Today, both tribes are guided in their government by written
constitutions drawn up by the authority of the United States Government.
The Pima governing body is a council chosen from the seven districts
into which the area is divided, with one representative for each three
hundred people in the district. These representatives are elected for
three years with one third going out of office each year. The officers
consist of a governor, a lieutenant governor, a secretary and a
treasurer. Meetings are held twice a month in the various districts.
There is also a district council for local administration, a tribal
court and a police force. The Papago constitution is slightly differ-
ent. The governing body is the Papago Council composed of two
representatives from each of the eleven districts of the tribe. They
are chosen for a period of two years. The officers of the Council con-
sist of a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary and a treasurer, who
are elected for a term of one year. Council meetings are held the first
Saturday of each month at the Sells Agency. Councils from the eleven
districts govern according to the old customs insofar as they do not
violate the constitution. Other officers, such as the judges and police


37 Constitution of the Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, pp. 1-4,8.
of the tribal court are elected by the people for a two-year term. As the tribes developed, arts and crafts were adopted along with farming as a means of livelihood, and wood, stone and leather were employed in their manufacture. The products made by the early Indians were not very numerous and were quite simple in character. From wood they made such articles as bows, arrows, clubs, traps, cradles, hoes and plows. While the articles made of stone were not as numerous as those made of wood, probably they were of more cultural importance for without them it would have been almost impossible to develop a more extensive agricultural life. The three most important articles made of stone were the metate, the ax and the knife, plus arrowheads made from obsidian, shale or flint. From fiber these Indians made such articles as saddles, bags, ropes and moccasins. The baskets, which these tribes wove, excelled in quality the pottery which they made. Life on the reservation was carried on much the same as it is today. Games and sports played just as important a part in their life then as they do now. Foot racing was one of the commonest sports they enjoyed while dancing and gambling were quite common and very popular. They used gourd rattles, scraping sticks, basket drums and flutes for musical instruments and their songs were divided into eight different

38 Constitution of the Papago Tribe, pp. 1-2, 5, 7.
40 Ibid., pp. 115-122.
41 Hall, op. cit., p. 18; Russell, op. cit., pp. 131-140, 143, 145-147.
groups: archaic, festal, game, hunting, medicine, puberty, rain and war.

Unlike their pueblo neighbors the Pimas and Papagos were not given to the outward show of religion. They believed in the magic power of animals and the omnipotence of the sun, which as they thought, moved around the flat earth. Moon was Sun's wife, although she did not have the power that Darkness had. Coyote, who figures prominently in their myths, was the child of Sun and Moon. They had two deities, Teu-wut Makai, Earth Magician or Doctor, and Siwu or Iitoi, Elder Brother, who lived in the East and these deities controlled the universe between them. Death to them was not a natural event, but the result of magical influences brought to bear by their enemies. The body was prepared for burial by being dressed in the very best clothes available. The legs were drawn up and the corpse placed in the grave which was simply a round hole with a small chamber at the bottom scooped out on the western side. Here the body was placed with the head facing the south. Medicine men were buried in a sitting position. Water and pinole were placed on the grave for the use of the soul in the other world. Underhill states that those who died from enemy wounds, whether at home or on the war path, were cremated in order to destroy enemy magic. When in mourning, the men cut their hair so that it would


not fall below the middle of the back, while the women cut theirs to the level of the ear lobe. Elderly widows would cut theirs to the head. Hair cut in this manner was buried in the sand of the river bed and not burned as it was believed that this might cause headaches or even death.  

It was necessary for a widow in mourning to remain at home and cry out the dead man's name each morning at daybreak.

After death, there were several different views regarding the destiny of the soul which, they believed, was in the center of the breast causing them to breathe. Some said that the soul of the dead went into the body of an owl. Therefore, owl feathers were always given to a dying person. Others believed that there was a land in the East, separated from the living by Earth Crack, where there was rejoicing and gladness, feasting and dancing and it was for this reason that when one died, he was dressed in his best clothing and his hair dressed with care. With this idea, there was no idea of spiritual reward or punishment for conduct in this life. Dreams were held to be the result of evil doing since they believed that during a dream, the soul wandered away and passed through adventures just as if it were awake.

Before the white man's ways had been completely accepted by the Pimas and Papagos, the medicine men had exercised much authority. Even

45 Underhill, op. cit., p. 190.

46 Russell, op. cit., p. 195.

today, especially in isolated localities on the Papago reservation, there are some who still believe in the power of the medicine man. There were three classes of medicine men carrying out their practices when Cook, the first Protestant missionary, began his work in 1870. They opposed him in every way they possibly could. The first of these groups included those who treated diseases by magic. They were known as Si-atookam, Examining Physicians, and were the most powerful group in the community. Next were the Makai, Magicians, who had power over crops, weather and war. The last group, though not as highly regarded, were the real doctors, giving roots and other simple remedies in treatment. They were called Hai-itcottam, Something-given-to-drink. The medicine men made much use of singing in their diagnosis of their patients' ailments. To be a medicine man was rather dangerous in the event that a plague struck a village or if a patient did not recover. The blame for these casualties could be placed on him and he would have to forfeit his life. On the other hand, it could develop into a lucrative business as he was generally paid whatever price he named.

One of the interesting ceremonies practiced in early days was that of purification of children. Russell states that it appears to resemble Christian baptism and this is probably one reason why the various tribes so readily accepted baptism from the early missionaries.

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49 "The Papago" op. cit., p. 15; Russell presents a rather extensive treatment of the causes and cures of various diseases, pp. 259-268.
children developed, they received their education by imitation, apprenticeship, and oral instruction. The boys were taught fortitude, courage, forebearance, unselfishness and industry, while the girls were taught to be industrious and faithful homemakers. 51

Progress in beliefs and ideas was maintained along with progress in material culture brought by the white man. There is extensive Protestant work on the reservations at the present time, some under the auspices of the Baptists and Mormons, but mostly under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church. Roman Catholicism is quite strong also and, in parts of the Papago country, there is a group known as the Sonora Catholic Church which does not accept American priests as Catholics. 52

Since education of the young people has been the primary concern of both the government and the church, boarding and day schools, both on and off the reservations, have been established. The fact that today there are very few boys and girls not in school speaks well of the progress of these schools.

51 Ibid., pp. 190-191.
CHAPTER II

THE PIMA WORK TO 1910

To Rev. Charles Henry Cook fell the task of pioneering the Presbyterian work among the Pimas. This work was started in 1881 when the Presbyterian Church assumed responsibility of the tribe as its mission field. However, in order to present a more complete picture of this mission work, it is necessary to review the life of Cook.

Cook was born at Nieder Waroldern, Waldeck, Germany, on February 22, 1888. His parents died when he was less than six months of age and he was raised by his grandparents, who endeavored to give him a good education in order to prepare him for the teaching profession in which his family had been engaged for three generations.

Before completing his education, he left Germany and came to America, arriving in New Orleans on November 16, 1855. There he worked for a time in a printing shop and then in a drug store after which he shipped out as a sailor. Two years later he was in New York City when, on July 9, 1857, he enlisted for five years in Company C, Third United

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1 Pension Record, Charles H. Cook, Soldiers' Certificate 886041, Can No. 18174, Bundle 4, in Veteran's Administration Archives, National Archives; A more detailed account of his life may be found in Among the Pimas, pp. 18-31.

2 Among the Pimas, pp. 18,19; Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona, p. 559.

States Cavalry which was also known as the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. He took part in some of the Indian wars and in the Civil War battles of Valverde and Apache Canyon during the Texas invasion of New Mexico.

Soon after the battle of Valverde, in February, 1862 while out on night picket duty, Cook received chest and head injuries which bothered him to some extent the rest of his life. During his army service, he went under his German name of Charles Koch, but following his discharge on July 9, 1862, at Paraje, New Mexico, he anglicized his name to that of Cook.⁴ On January 2, 1864, he re-enlisted at Rochester, New York, in Company L, First Regiment of New York Light Artillery and on October 29, 1864, he was advanced to the grade of corporal.⁵

In spite of early religious training, he did not become an active Christian until he heard a Presbyterian minister by the name of Dr. Shaw preach in Rochester shortly before he went to the front. This sermon set him to thinking and soon after he joined his battery he made his decision to participate in Christian work, a decision which was to change the course of his entire life.

On June 17, 1865, he was discharged at Elmira, New York. Following his discharge he lived with an army friend at Savona, New York, for about a year and it was during the winter of that year that he accidentally cut his right foot with an axe. This injury resulted in a lameness

⁴ Pension Record, op. cit.; Howard, My Life and Personal Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians, p. 137.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.; Among the Pimas, p. 21.
that prevented him from working a farm and caused him pain the rest of
his life. Shortly after this accident, he moved to Chicago where, for
a time, he worked in the banking house of Lunt, Preston and Keane.
While there he became a member of the Rock River Conference of the
Methodist Church which he had previously joined and was placed in
charge of the Halsted Street Mission in Chicago.

During his stay in Chicago his interest in the Indians grew.
Early in 1869 he had read a letter in the New York Evangelist from
General A. J. Alexander to a member of the Ladies' Union Mission School
Association in Albany, New York. This letter told of the need of
religious and educational work among the Pimas.

At first, Cook did not pay much attention to the article for he
was planning to go to China as a missionary. However, the need of the
Pimas as presented in the letter, could not be erased from his mind.

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7 Among the Pimas, p. 22; Pension Record, op. cit.
8 Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona, p. 559.
9 Following is a copy of the letter taken from Among the Pimas, p. 6:

Dear Madam:

I have just returned from a ten days' scout in the mountains
which was very successful. I was accompanied by one hundred
Pima and Maricopa Indians whose wild ways and picturesque
appearance were highly interesting. I have acquired a great
deal of influence over them since I led the whole band in a
charge over hills, rocks and streams. After my return, I had
a very interesting conversation with Antonio Azul, the chief of
the Pimas, who told me he would welcome any person I would send
to teach them and that the children should go to school. These
Indians are docile and friendly and easily approached. As
He wanted the Methodist Church to send him to Arizona, but they had no money for such an enterprise, nor could he find anyone else to support him.10

Meantime, Captain F. E. Grossman of the Pima Agency, had also shown an interest in securing educational facilities for the Pimas, and in his annual report of 1870, he stated:

After careful investigation and inspection of the reservation, I could not avoid the conclusion that while an agency had been established since 1859, and though the government had expended thousands of dollars on behalf of the Pimas and Maricopas, little, if anything, has been done to aid the education and elevation of these Indians and for all practical purposes, the moneys thus expended has been absolutely wasted.

He also urged that one or two teachers, or perhaps missionaries who would not only impart religious instruction but would also be willing to teach the children the rudiments of common education be sent as soon as possible. He hoped that from the many missionaries sent abroad, a few would be willing to come to the Pimas where there was a wide field and few obstacles.11

On September 1, 1870, Cook gave up his work in Chicago and, with

several white men reside near them, who speak the language perfectly, it could be easily acquired. I told Antonio that the good people in the east who loved the Indians, would send a good man to come and live there and teach them; that he did not want land or money from them, but would come to do them good and whatever he told them would be good and he could trust him. He said it was very good and wanted to know when he would come.

10 Among the Pimas, p. 25; Thompson, op. cit., p. 5; Herndon Scrapbook No. 1, p. 8.

11 Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870, pp. 584, 585.
no backing, started his journey to the Pimas "with a good supply of clothing, a tent, blankets, a small melodeon, a Winchester rifle, some groceries and a few cooking utensils." As he put it, "on my first journey to Arizona, and often since, my army experience has been of great help to me." More than three months later, on December 23, 1870, he arrived at the Pima Agency.

12 Among the Pimas, pp. 23-24. For a complete account of his journey see Appendix A where is recorded a copy of his diary of this trip and also a report of that trip from Among the Pimas, pp. 24-31.

13 Captain Grossman described his arrival in the following letter which is in the possession of Rev. George Walker:

U. S. Indian Agency,
Gila River Reservation, A. T.
Dec., 26, 1870.

Lt. Col. George L. Andrews, U. S. A.,
Supt. Indian Affairs, Arizona Territory,
Arizona City, A. T.

Sir: I have the honor to report that Rev. Mr. Charles H. Cook arrived on this reservation on the 23rd instant. He comes as a missionary to the Pimas and Maricopas. He brings good recommendations from some of the bishops of his church and is, I believe, a well-disposed man and one who will bring energy and perseverance to the work. He proposes to teach the children and contemplates to devote his life to the work if he finds some encouragement on the part of the Indian office.

It appears that his church does not send him here; he claims to feel that he is "called" to this work and states that his church will assist him to a limited extent if he demonstrates that good work can be done. He belongs to the Methodist Episcopal Church.

I mentioned to him that probably the next agent will be one selected by the Dutch Reformed Church, but he does not apprehend any difficulties in working with an agent belonging to a different denomination.

He has already commenced the study of Pima by means of my dictionary and hopes to be able to master the Pima language sufficiently well in a few months to commence teaching. He states that his church will supply school books and would send
On December 26, Captain Grossman engaged him as teacher at $600 per year to commence January 1, 1871. On February 15, the day his school opened, he received word that his salary had been raised to $1,000 per year. 14

At first Grossman was dubious as to the success of a day school for the Indians as he favored a boarding school:

Day school will not answer here at present. The experiment has never been tried, for the teacher now here is yet studying the Pima language and will not be able to open a school for some months to come. All of the chiefs are interested in the education of children, but none will guarantee attendance of even their own children. The Indians live in twelve scattered villages. If a day school is started, only those near the school will come. I believe the children should be removed entirely from grown-up influence. The Indians do not recognize the value of education; they ask how much the government will pay the fathers if they will send their children. At present there are 1,679 children -- 925 boys and 754 girls -- none have ever been at school and all are unused to control. 15

more teachers if required.

Altogether I am of the opinion that he will answer, and for the Indians' sake would respectfully ask for authority to engage him as teacher at such salary as you deem proper to allow. Should he be engaged I would also beg leave to request that some lumber for benches and desks and a blackboard be sent here.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient Servant
F. E. Grossman
Captain U.S.A., U.S. Indian Agent

P.S. He has a regular license as a preacher and is a single man.

14 Cook's Diary, pp. 21-22. See Appendix A.

15 Grossman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Pima Agency, (Jan., 19, 1871), No. A 71, Letters received, Arizona, 1871, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
A month and a half later Grossman realized that he had misjudged the possibility of the day school. He then wrote:

School is a better success than I had expected. The children have learned to obey their teacher, are becoming cleaner from day to day and some, at least, show capacity for learning. I would earnestly recommend this school to the fostering care of the government. School books, more slates, chalk for the blackboard, slate pencils and, after a while, copying books are required. The pupils sing well together, the teacher has a small organ and is desirous of having them learn to sing. He recommends that some song books be furnished.16

By the time school opened, Cook was familiar with the Pima language as he had been studying it since first engaged as a teacher. He described the first day of school as follows: "Some thirty-five scholars and some chiefs and parents were present, the children behaved well on the whole and showed some aptness to learn."17 They met in an adobe building a few miles west of the present agency in Sacaton.18

The heat of the summer and the harvest season made it necessary to close the school, in which there were over fifty pupils enrolled, on May 31. The average daily attendance had been thirty-eight, with a few more boys than girls in attendance. Cook had faced two difficulties, one of which had been the fact that this was the first attempt ever to


17 Cook's Diary, p. 22.

18 Russell, The Pima Indians, p. 34.
instruct these children in a regular school, and second, the teacher had had a very imperfect knowledge of the Indian language.

When the school closed, the children had learned the English alphabet and a few English words. All of the children spoke English with a German accent as Cook had never completely overcome his own accent. Some were able to write both letters and numbers fairly well, to count in English, and to sing several hymns.

The agent, J. H. Stout, described this early school as lacking in many material things in addition to the problem of irregular attendance:

The parents are willing for their children to learn, but none of them will guarantee the attendance of his child at school. It is left entirely up to the child. Where there is no compulsion to attend there must be some inducement. School is held in a small room, fourteen by sixteen feet and is poorly ventilated. It has a dirt floor which has to be sprinkled down many times to keep down the dust. Until recently it had few benches and no desks. We have had as many as fifty children at a time here, many coming several miles with little or nothing to wear.... I feel that they should be encouraged to attend through material inducements until such time as they will be able to learn to value education for itself alone. Since the fall of 1871 I have, from my own funds, been giving the children a daily ration. This helps for regular attendance and devotion to study. The school is only available to a few because of the distance from other villages.

For several years this practice of giving the children something to eat was carried on. Cook and Stout furnished the food themselves

19 Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, p. 358.

20 Cook's Diary, p. 23; Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, p. 358; Howard, op. cit., p. 140.

21 Stout to Bendell, Pima Agency, (Feb., 8, 1872), No. S822, Letters received, Arizona, 1872, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
at a cost of between $150 and $250 a year because this insured to a
great extent the regular attendance of the children and a greater
devotion to their lessons during the hours of study. 22

For a short time, Cook conducted a second school in a Maricopa
village, Hol-chi-cum, about four miles west of this first school. It
met in a large brush hut without a roof and was erected at private
expense with the help of the Indians. The attendance at this Maricopa
school was better than at the school for the Pima children. 23 However,
by 1876, this Maricopa school had been given up and there were no
funds to secure another teacher. 24

Cook and his wife, the former Anna M. Bath of Chicago to whom he
had been married in July, 1872, would spend part of every day at each
of the two schools. They rode back and forth on horseback. 25 On
September 1, Mrs. Cook had been appointed sewing teacher by Stout at a
salary of $600 per year 26 and in 1873, this was increased to $900. 27

22 Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872, p. 320.

23 Ibid.; Narrative section, Annual report, Pima Agency, Arizona,
Aug., 16, 1931, Sec. IV, p. 20; Stout to Bendell, Pima Agency, (Dec.,
18, 1871), No. B 839, Letters received, 1872, Office of Indian Affairs,
National Archives.

24 Hudson to Smith, Pima Agency, (May 3, 1876), No. H 519, Letters
received, Arizona, 1876, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

25 Among the Pimas, pp. 35-36; Pension Record, op. cit.; Arizona
Citizen, Aug., 24, 1872, p. 3.

26 Report of Employees in the Gila River Indian Agency for the
first quarter, 1873, No. B 281, Letters received, 1873, National Archives.

27 Stout to Walker, Pima Agency, (Sept., 2, 1872), No. B 228,
But because of the cares of her own family, Mrs. Cook resigned in April, 1874, and thereafter, helped with sewing classes for the girls only as time permitted.

In November, 1876, United States Indian Inspector, E. C. Kemble, visited the school and spoke very highly of the work that Cook was doing:

I am very happy to be able to speak in terms of high commendation of the effort which the teacher and missionary is making under heavy difficulties.... He is a member of another denomination who has come almost unaided, into the work and with singular zeal applied himself to learn the Pima language and minister to them in their own tongue. His school is quite promising under the circumstances. Half a dozen boys read understandably in one of our Third School readers and cipher in fractions. With his own means and hands he has procured a small printing press and is translating and printing parts of the New Testament in the Pima language.

Due to the success of the school, the enrollment had been increased to sixty-five by 1876, with an average attendance of fifty-three. This was in spite of the fact that when he started his school he had had very little in the way of supplies. Antonio B. Juan, one of the early pupils, reported that Cook had only one song book, from which he would read a line at a time, having the children repeat the lines.

He would do the same with Bible reading. When punishment was needed,

Letters received, Arizona, 1872, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives. Estimate of funds, first quarter, 1873, No. B 492, Letters received, Arizona, 1873, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Among the Pimas, p. 37; Report of employees in Gila River Indian Agency for the second quarter, 1874, No. S 930, Letters received, Arizona, 1874, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Inspectors File, 1875, No. 705, Letters received, Arizona, 1875, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1876, p. 7.
Cook would pray in front of the class and this would induce goodness through making the guilty ones ashamed. 31

As a result of this need of equipment, the Ladies' Union Mission School Association in New York sent supplies to the school from time to time, including a Mason and Hamlin organ. 32 Before Cook left, he had a fairly complete set of textbooks including copybooks, Wilson's Readers (1-4), Monteiths' First Lessons in Geography, Monteiths' Manual of Geography, Davis' Primary Arithmetic, Davis' Intellectual Arithmetic and McGuffey's Primary Charts. 33

In September, 1878, Cook resigned from his position as school teacher and from then until May 21, 1879, when Mr. J. S. Armstrong was appointed, there was no school in session. 34 For approximately the next two years, Cook worked as a trader and clerk in the employ of Charles T. Hayden at Pima Buttes, about ten miles from the agency, spending his Sundays in holding religious services in the Pima language in the various villages. 35 However, he was never completely satisfied with this.

31 Interview with Antonio E. Juan, April 12, 1942.

32 Among the Pimas, pp. 88-89.

33 Stout to Hoyt, Pima Agency, (Aug., 20, 1878), No. S 1308, Letters received, Arizona, 1878, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

34 Stout to Hoyt, Pima Agency, (May 27, 1879), No. S 933, Letters received, Arizona, 1879, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

35 Vol. 6, p. 87; vol. 7, p. 12, Licenses, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Among the Pimas, pp. 38-39. Mr. Hayden was the father of Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona.
arrangement as he wanted a full-time missionary at work in the Pima field.

In the meantime, the government was sponsoring the digging of some irrigation ditches under the direct supervision of Special Agent E. B. Townsend who, in 1880, employed Cook as surveyor and interpreter. One day, as he was aiding the Indians in throwing dirt out of one of the ditches which had been surveyed, Cook suffered a hernia which was to trouble him the rest of his life.

During this time negotiations were underway to bring the Pima mission work under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church. In 1879, Dr. Sheldon Jackson, one of the leaders of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, visited Cook on one of his missionary tours of the West. Cook described his visit: "After resting a little, he paid us a visit, which resulted in a friendly chat on Indian matters and a prayer meeting. Never shall I forget that visit; it reminded me of a general visiting the soldier on picket and encouraging him in the faithful discharge of his duty." After Jackson had returned to New York he tried to persuade the Methodist Board of

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36 Pension Record, op. cit.; Townsend to Marble, Pima Agency, (Oct., 16, 1880), No. T 1452, Letters received, Arizona, 1880, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives. In September, 1890, he spent twenty days at Dr. Pierce's Invalid Hotel in Buffalo, New York, at a cost of over $200, but it did not help; as early as Mar., 15, 1892, he was afraid he would have to give up the work because of his health.

37 Among the Pimas, p. 48.
Home Missions to establish a work among the Pima and Papago Indians, but they were not at that time ready to occupy the field. It was at this time that the Board of Foreign Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church transferred the religious work among the Indian tribes in Arizona, which had been assigned to their care by the government, to the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church on August 14, 1880. Thus the Pimas and Papagos came under Presbyterian missionary influence.

In the winter of 1880-1881, Jackson made another trip to Arizona in the interest of Presbyterian missions. He urged Cook to resign his job with Hayden, join the Presbyterian Church, and give his whole time to being the missionary to the Pimas. Jackson persuaded him to study at home for the ministry and promised to provide the textbooks and supervise his study by mail. Cook agreed to this, and accordingly, on April 8, 1881, he joined the Presbyterian Church. Upon the completion of his study, he was examined and ordained by the Presbytery of Los Angeles.

38 Thompson, op. cit., p. 4.
39 Robert L. Stewart, Sheldon Jackson, p. 245.
40 Herndon Scrapbook No. 1, miscellaneous papers in front of the book; Session Minutes of Sacaton Presbyterian Church, 1895-1899, Register of Elders and Deacons; La Aurora, II, No. 50, (Jan., 23, 1902), p. 1.
41 Among the Pimas, p. 49; Stewart, op. cit., p. 247.
Cook expressed his change of denominational affiliation as follows:

We felt a little loth to part company with the very many M. E. Church brethren whom we loved and highly esteemed; we also remembered that we owed our conversion, under God, to good Dr. Shaw, a Presbyterian and, believing it to be the Lord's will, we concluded to brave any criticism or odium which such change might produce.42

This connection with the Presbyterian Church contributed his first financial support which made it possible for him to give his entire time to the service.43 Under this new appointment, Cook held regular Sunday afternoon meetings at 2:00 p.m. under a large porch at the agency in Sacaton and preached in English and Pima. Among the regular attendants was Antonio Azul, head chief of the Pimas, "about fifty years of age, a brave warrior, a successful farmer, a man true to our government, a few years ago not friendly to our religion, but at present endeavoring to live up to the light he has."44 On Sunday mornings and sometimes on Saturdays, meetings were held in the villages within a twelve mile radius, of which meetings he said: "Our meeting house was mother earth; our seats cottonwood poles, or the ground."45

The superintendent and some of the teachers and employees of the govern-

42 Among the Pimas, p. 49.

43 Thompson, op. cit., p. 4.

44 Presbyterian Home Missions, XII, No. 11, (Nov., 1883), pp. 262-263.

45 Ibid.
ment school helped with the Sunday evening services.46

Before Cook had any church building in which to preach, he went out into the fields where the Indians were working and talked to them there. At other times he would speak in one of the houses or in the village council houses. At first the use of an interpreter was necessary, but after some years of study, he was able to speak the Pima language well enough to use it for preaching. He did not make any converts to Christianity until 1885 when an Indian by the name of Manuel Roberts of Blackwater, Arizona, was baptized. At the same time there were three others who accepted Cook's teaching. These were: Maychu Jackson, the captain of the Indian police, James Vanioo of Gila Crossing and Sara Hina of Casa Blanca, a relative of the Robert's family. This year marked the beginning of conversions which thereafter multiplied rapidly.47

After the government day school which Cook had started had been made into a boarding school in 1881, he conducted religious education classes for the children and gave organ lessons.48


47 Belknap, The Pima Missions, p. 3; Russell, op. cit., p. 59; Russell got this information both from talking to Mr. Cook and from one of the old calendar sticks on which the Pimas used to record their history; Interview with Antonio B. Juan, May 12, 1942; interview with Edward Jackson, July 3, 1942.

48 Presbyterian Home Missions, XII, No. 6, (June, 1883), p. 137; No. 11, op. cit.
In 1885 and 1886, Cook had some trouble with the agent, Roswell G. Wheeler, who felt that Cook was interfering with him in his administrative work. This brought about an investigation in 1885, by Indian Inspector Pearson at which time Cook testified against Wheeler. This investigation was the result of Wheeler's threat to kill Cook because the latter had advised the Indians to keep control of a particular ranching business themselves and not let Wheeler run it. This had angered Wheeler very much. Soon afterwards, while he was returning from Casa Grande where he had gone to meet his wife and children, Cook was met on the road by Wheeler who told him that he was not wanted on the reservation. Cook replied that he could not return that night, but would in the morning.

The next morning, January 6, Wheeler served the following notice on Cook: "Owing to your long continued and constant interference with the agent and his work, I deem it for the best interests of the service and for the Indians under my charge that you should leave this reservation. You will, therefore, at once, remove yourself, family and effects beyond the limits of this reservation."

After his removal, Cook wrote to the Commissioner of Indian

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49 Kirkwood to Roberts, Casa Grande, (Feb., 23, 1886), No. 7251, Classified file of 1886, Land Office, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

50 Wheeler to Atkins, Pima Agency, (Jan., 9, 1886), No. 1567, Classified file of 1886, Land Office, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
Affairs:

Concerning Mr. Wheeler's statement of interference with the Agent and his work, I would state that if there had been such a thing he no doubt would have brought charges against me before the U. S. Indian Inspector, Mr. Pearsons, which to the best of my knowledge he did not do, at least not openly. I have been aware that Mr. Wheeler, being a Spiritualistic Writing Medium, was not friendly toward our missionary work and myself. I have obeyed him in leaving the Reservation, though at a pecuniary sacrifice and at the risk of endangering the health of my family. To remove the church, which up to date for nearly two years past has been crowded on Sundays by Indians who desire to be Christian, or the parsonage where some of my children were born and where one died, I shall not attempt until I receive orders to that effect from headquarters.

Judge J. D. Walker of Casa Grande denounced the whole affair as a "dastardly outrage," and gave Cook/in which to live and offered him the use of a ranch.

51 A copy of one of Wheeler's communications with the Spirits of his father and Uncle Russell on October 13, 1886, fell into the hands of Dr. T. C. Kirkwood, Superintendent of Missions and Mission Schools of the Southwest for the Board of Home Missions during the investigation of the situation. This communication took place in the evening soon after the interpreter, Louis, had informed Wheeler that Cook had told the Indians not to have anything to do with him: "Oh my guides, you can see and I am blind. See for me and tell me what you see, will you? Yes. Did Cook tell the Indians not to have anything to do with the Agent? Yes. Can I fasten it on him? Yes. Can I get him removed? Yes. Had I better do it? Yes. Can I do it successfully? Yes. Can he injure me now? No. Shall I go ahead? If I do, will you see me through all right? Yes. Is trouble to break out soon with Cook? Yes. Shall I put him off or not? Yes. By authority of the Department? Yes. Will I beat Cook? Yes. Will you see me through safely? Yes. Shall I tackle Cook when I get back from the Papagos? If I do will I succeed in beating him? Yes." Kirkwood to Roberts, op. cit.

52 Cook to Atkins, Casa Grande, (Jan., 8, 1886), No. 1651, in classified file of 1886, Land Office, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

53 Kirkwood to Roberts, op. cit.
According to Kirkwood, who investigated the situation, Wheeler was profane and foulmouthed in the extreme. He said he was unable to look upon Cook or the church without flying into a passion and that his direction in this matter of Cook's dismissal had been received from the Spirits.... Kirkwood claimed that Wheeler was morally insane and Wheeler's wife also said that her husband was not accountable for his words at all times.

Mr. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, notified Wheeler that Cook was authorized to return to the reservation and asked him not to interfere with him in the prosecution of missionary work. Soon after this, Wheeler was removed from his work.54

At the same time the Board of Home Missions was notified of the decision that Cook was at liberty to return and resume his missionary labors among the Pimas whenever he chose to do so. However, since Cook had interfered to some extent with agency matters, it was to be understood that this order allowing him to return to the reservation was given with the understanding that he give his attention strictly and exclusively to his missionary work.55 The Board thanked Atkins for letting Cook return and assured him that they did not want to interfere in government affairs.56


56 Roberts to Atkins, New York, N. Y. (Mar., 17, 1886), No. 7878
Early in the winter of 1889 there was a long rainy spell during which Cook's house leaked badly. His wife and two of his children became ill. As time passed, the children recovered, but Mrs. Cook became steadily worse and on the evening of December 18, she died, leaving her husband and seven children. His eldest daughter, only fourteen years of age, took over the management of the household.  

A short time after this tragic happening, Cook was again rebuked by the authorities for alleged interference with the government school. Agent Crouse stated that while his influence was not manifested against the education of the Indians, he seemed to be over-zealous in behalf of the Presbyterian mission schools and jealous of the success of the government schools. He thought this seemed to be his weakness in spite of the fact that he had done a great deal for the Indians.  

Dr. Daniel Dorchester, the government superintendent of Indian schools, was sent to investigate. He reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that since it had been reported that Cook had exerted himself against the government schools, he deemed it his duty to place on file in the department a counter statement. He had personally talked with Cook, Crouse and Creager about the matter and it was clear that

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57 Among the Pimas, p. 44; Pension Record, op. cit.  

58 Crouse to Morgan, Sacaton, (Feb., 19, 1890), No. 5148 in classified file of 1890, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
the report had come from a misunderstanding. When Creager had gone to
Sacaton for pupils he took with him an interpreter, a boy who proved
unequal to the task and blundered much. In this way a wrong impression
had been conveyed. He said he was sure that Cook would do nothing of
the kind charged against him, and since the change from the Catholic
influence in the Albuquerque government school, he had been glad to
encourage the sending of the Pima children to Creager's school. He
stated also that Cook was deserving of the fullest confidence and had
performed a most valuable service in the Pima Agency. 59

The following year, in the spring of 1890, Cook started a small
school in which to train some of the Indians as preachers. This was
the first attempt to train native workers for full-time Christian work,
and the result of this was the Cook Christian Training School now
located in Phoenix, Arizona. The first students, consisting of five
Pimas, Thomas Lewis, Edward Jackson, V. Jackson, Horace Williams, Carl
Schurz, and one white man, Dr. Augustus E. Marden, the agency physician,
met in Cook's home once weekly for about three years to study the Bible
and talk over the work in the different fields. 60

As interest in Christianity and the work of the church grew, the
need was felt for centers of worship and places to meet. Therefore,
a small chapel was built by the Indians at Sacaton and the first service

59 Dorchester to Morgan, Ft. Defiance, N. M. (May 7, 1890), No.
14621 in classified file of 1890, Office of Indian Affairs, National
Archives.

60 Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book A, p. 24; interview with
Horace Williams, June 7, 1942; with Edward Jackson, April 19, 1942;
was held in it on May 4, 1884. Judge Walker of Casa Grande donated almost all of the lumber, windows and doors for this new project. At the meeting of the Presbytery of Arizona on November 14, 1888, Rev. Howard Billman of Tucson, Rev. I. G. Whittemore of Florence and Cook were appointed a committee to visit Sacaton and organize a church if the way was clear.  

On the evening of April 3, 1889, the Presbytery met in the Mission Chapel which had been erected by Cook as a house of worship for the Pima Indians. A large congregation of Indians were present and Kirkwood, Billman, Hesekiah Magill and John G. Pritchard spoke to this interesting congregation through the aid of Indian interpreters. Cook reported the organization of the First Pima Presbyterian Church of Sacaton with sixteen members and the election and ordination of Joseph Roberts (Napatawa) as Ruling Elder. The sixteen members, including the new

61 Various Memoranda, opposite p. 1. This book is on file at the Pima First Presbyterian Church, Sacaton, Arizona; The Church at Home and Abroad, VI, No. 33, (Sept., 1889), p. 258; La Aurora, op. cit.


63 Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book A, p. 16. This Joseph Roberts had earlier been converted to Catholicism and had made three trips to Magdalena, Sonora, to worship at the shrine there. However, he returned to following his ancient tribal religious customs and strongly opposed the preaching of the Gospel until two of his sons were converted. They persuaded him to go to church and hear Cook preach. After his own conversion, he began to do missionary work in various parts of the reservation. He was of great help to Cook until his death on September 25, 1889. This information is taken from a paper "The First Pima Elder" by James Fulton, given at the Cook Bible School, March 22, 1912, now in Dr. Logie's possession.
elder, as well as ten children were baptized during the first quarter of 1889, and of the first ten who were baptized on March 17, 1889, seven were from the Roberts family of the village of Blackwater, about eleven miles east of Sacaton.65 Other Indians would come from at least ten different villages ranging in distance from eleven miles to thirty miles west in the Gila Valley for the services.66

At the end of five years, 1889-1894, the church had grown from sixteen members to one hundred and eighteen.67 Included among the new members was Chief Antonio Azul who had accepted the ways of the white man and had cut his hair and dressed accordingly. He was baptized on November 19, 1893, the one hundred eighty-first to be baptized and the one hundred third member.68 The Sunday school had grown, by 1895, to one hundred eighty-eight pupils with some of the government employees helping with this work.69 The seating capacity of two hundred persons fast became inadequate and by 1893 the building was enlarged to seat

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64 The Church at Home and Abroad, op. cit., p. 258.

65 Session Minutes of Sacaton Presbyterian Church, 1895-1899, Baptismal Records.

66 The Church at Home and Abroad, VII, No. 41, (May, 1890), p. 65.

67 Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book A, p. 89.


69 Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book A, p. 120; The Church at Home and Abroad, I, No. 4, (April, 1887), p. 327.
three hundred persons, but soon, even the available standing room was being used. 70

Among those who came to hear Cook preach at the Agency were many from the village of Blackwater. The inhabitants of this village had a reputation which was not the best as they were the worst band among the Pimas and dictated terms to the rest of the Indians regarding the use of water for irrigation. 71 Because of their reputation of being lazy and quarrelsome, Cook preached more frequently there than in any of the other villages, and the result was that the first elder, Joseph Roberts, was from this village. 72

Because of the great interest shown in Christianity by the people of Blackwater, Cook decided to erect a chapel there. Collection of money for this project began in 1882 when a Mr. T. McLeod of Denver gave $50. The rest was raised by the Indians and friends living nearby who made many of their contributions in the form of wheat. 73 The building was completed in the spring of 1888 and then enlarged seven years later at a cost of $300 which had been donated by the Board of Church Erection. The Indians made further contributions of cash and

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70 Home Missions Monthly, VIII, No. 4, (Feb., 1894), p. 87; Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book A, p. 89; La Aurora, op. cit.

71 Townsend to Marbe, Los Pinos Agency, (Dec., 10, 1880), No. T 1655, Letters received, 1880, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.


work at this time also. A pulpit was made and presented by the Tucson Indian School and an organ was given by Mrs. E. T. T. Martin of the Ladies Union Mission School Association. The Pima Third Church was organized on June 3, 1900, by H. B. Mayo and Cook at which time the local memberships were transferred from the Sacaton Church.

Many Indians from Gila Crossing would journey the thirty miles to hear Cook preach when he could not get down to their village. Because of the slow means of transportation, it was necessary for them to spend the night at Vah Ki both coming and going. This lack of a church building worked such a hardship on the Indians, as well as on Cook, that at the meeting of the Presbytery of Arizona on April 10, 1893, it was recommended that because Cook's work was expanding so much, the Board of Church Erection "come to his aid to the amount of $500 toward building a House of Worship at Gila Crossing."

In the spring of 1894, Cook, with the assistance of an Indian helper, began work on this proposed building. Because of harvest time, the Indians who lived in this region were not able to give much assistance, and it was June before the church was completed with the help of


75 Various Memoranda, op. cit., p. 1.

76 Interview with Antonio B. Juan, April 12, 1942; Various Memoranda, op. cit., loose papers.

77 Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book A, p. 71.
students of the Tucson school and interested Papagos. A manse and an
Indian helper's house were also erected at that time. An organ for the
chapel was furnished by Mrs. E. T. T. Martin of New York; a Meneely bell
by Elder T. Crawford of Detroit and the Tucson school provided the
pulpit. For this building, $400 had been received from the Board of
Church Erection, $300 from the Board of Home Missions, and $23.69 from
friends in Phoenix.

That winter, on December 9, 1894, the church, comprising six
members, was organized by James Menaul of Albuquerque, Whittemore of
Florence, and Cook. For two years, Edward Jackson, one of the Pima
helpers, had charge of the work, with only an occasional visit from
Cook.

It was at this time that there was an attempt on the part of some
of the Indians to secure a Catholic church and school in that vicinity.
Cook protested the granting of same and Agent J. Roe Young sustained
him for three reasons: (1) There was a good school in Phoenix; (2)
There was harmony in the region and a school of a different character
would help to cause confusion; (3) The Papago field was open and the

78 Home Missions Monthly, VIII, No. 10, (Aug., 1894), p. 226; VIII,
No. 12, (Oct., 1894), p. 274; Various Memoranda, op. cit., loose papers;
Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, papers in front; La Aurora, op. cit.

79 Various Memoranda, op. cit., p. 1; Wynkoop to Hamilton, Leaven-
worth, Kansas, (April 6, 1942), Hamilton personal file; Russell, op.
cit., p. 63.

80 Cook to Roberts, Sacaton, (Jan., 21, 1896), No. 10209, in
79225-26-09, Pima file 816.2, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
Catholics could go there since the Pimas were "blessed with churches and schools." The Commissioner of Indian Affairs rejected the request of the Catholics at that time.

Because of the increase in the work Cook made another appeal to the Home Mission Board for an additional white man to assist him and this time his request was granted. In the fall of 1886, Mr. and Mrs. David M. Wynkoop arrived at Gila Crossing, supported in their work financially by the West End Church of New York City. A deacon in the Los Angeles Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South when he took up the work, Wynkoop was ordained into the Presbyterian Church at the meeting of the Presbytery of Arizona on April 5, 1897. He proved an asset to the field and for several years conducted training classes for native leaders and organized work in a small village of Maricopa Indians about ten miles north of Gila Crossing.

Interest in building a chapel for this newly organized work was soon apparent and at the meeting of the Presbytery of Arizona on April 7, 1900, it was reported that §485.75 had been received for building the first church among the Maricopas. The Board of Church Erection

81 Young to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sacaton, (Mar., 10, 1896), No. 23701 in 79225-26-09, Pima file 816.2, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

82 Wynkoop to Hamilton, op. cit.; Various Memoranda, op. cit., p. 2.

83 Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book A, p. 151.

84 Home Missions Monthly, XVII, No. 4, (Feb., 1903), p. 80; Wynkoop to Hamilton, op. cit.
had given $387.59 and the balance had come from interested individuals. In the spring of 1899, with some help from Cook, the stone foundation was laid and on September 27, 1900, the building was completed and dedicated. This, however, did not fill all of the needs of the Maricopa field and in April, 1901, a committee composed of Cook, Wynkoop and Elders John Thomas and L. L. Flank were appointed by Presbytery to visit the Maricopa Station, an adjunct of the Pima Second field and organize a church there if the way was clear. This committee composed of Wynkoop and Dr. Lapsley McAfee was appointed on October 4, 1902. On May 13, 1903, the committee reported back to Presbytery that a meeting had been held in the West Maricopa village on November 21, 1902, and, after a sermon by the Rev. Duncan Brown, the organization had taken place with a membership of thirty-three. John Thomas and Isaac Bird had been elected elders and Mark Ist and Warren Miller had been elected deacons. With the consent of the members, the church was named The First Maricopa.

Shortly after the establishment of this Maricopa Church, the

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86 Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1899, p. 167; Minutes of Synod of New Mexico, 1900, p. 22; La Aurora, op. cit.


Board of Home Missions transferred the Wynkoops to the Salt River Reservation where there were both Pimas and Maricopas.\(^{89}\) The Gila Crossing work was assigned to C. H. Ellis, a medical doctor practicing in Phoenix and who was very much interested in the mission work. Since he was not a minister, he studied and was ordained on May 14, 1903.\(^{90}\) In addition to his newly assigned pastoral duties, he served as physician to the Indians, and for this the government paid him $600 per year.\(^{91}\) After two years on this field, he was transferred to the Salt River Reservation where he began work on January 1, 1905. This time the work at Gila Crossing was assigned to Frederick V. Richards, a lay member of the First Presbyterian Church, Phoenix, who began studying for the ministry and was ordained on April 25, 1906.\(^{92}\)

Work among the Pimas continued to grow as interest was manifest in the various villages. Cook carried his preaching mission to Casa Blanca, or Vah Ki, which was situated about eleven miles west of Sacaton, to Blackwater and to Bapchule. By 1897 there were enough converts in the latter village to warrant the building of another church and the leaders concluded that there was great need of another chapel

\(^{89}\) Membership Roll Book of Salt River Presbyterian Church, p. 185.

\(^{90}\) Ellis to Randolph, Phoenix, (Mar., 26, 1941), Board of National Missions file, Phoenix Presbytery, Pima file; Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book B, p. 1; Various Memoranda, op. cit., p. 2.

\(^{91}\) Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book B, p. 42.

at Vah Ki, one that would seat about three hundred persons. For this building, the Board of Church Erection provided $490. Help in the construction was provided by Mr. Martin, the carpenter at the Tucson school, who spent four weeks of his vacation working on the building and by the Indians of the village who also contributed much in the way of work. It was completed in July of that year.

With organized religious work under way, it was necessary to have workers on the field, and in the summer of 1900, Marden was appointed by the Board of Home Missions to assist Cook in the Sacaton, Blackwater and Vah-Ki fields. His medical skill was of great help to him in the work, which he carried on for two years, and then at the end of this time he returned to his work as Agency physician.

At Vah Ki the work was growing also, and in April, 1901, Cook, McAfee, and Mayo were appointed to organize a church there. This was completed on March 2, 1902 and was known as the Pima Fourth Presbyterian Church.

With this phase of the work completed, another phase was begun with another group of Pimas and a few Maricopas who lived about twenty

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93 Session Minutes of Sacaton Presbyterian Church, 1896-1899, p. 4.
94 Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book A, p. 166; Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, miscellaneous papers in front; Various Memoranda, op. cit., p. 1; La Aurora, op. cit.
95 Marden to Hitchcock, op. cit.; Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, miscellaneous papers in front of book; Interview with Edward Jackson, July 3, 1942.
five miles north of Sacaton on the Salt River. About seven hundred of them had first settled there at the suggestion of white farmers who had wanted a buffer against the Apaches. The Indians had also gone because of the difficulty of supporting themselves on the Gila Reservation. A few years after they had settled there, however, the farmers registered a protest through the Legislature of 1877, addressed to Congress, stating that the Salt River Indians had become a nuisance because their stock was grazing on the farmer's property. They stated further that the Indians had settled on surveyed land and had driven away a number of people who had tried to locate homesteads there.

Agent Stout at Sacaton urged that a new reservation be established for them so that they would not be sent back to the Gila Reservation, and on June 14, 1879, this new reservation was established. 97 To this reservation, the Presbyterian work was carried in 1896 by George Blount, a teacher at the Phoenix High School, and William Gill, a colporteur of the American Sunday School Union. 98 In the spring of that year an adobe church was built on the Salt River Reservation under the supervision of Gill who had obtained almost $400 from white friends who were interested in the project. An additional $294 was furnished by the Board of Church Erection and the Indians donated $45 in addition

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97 Stout to Hoyt, Sacaton, (Nov., 23, 1878), No. 8 1881, in Letters received, Arizona, 1878, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; McClintock, Arizona, I, p. 34; Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reservations, 1855-1912, p. 26.

98 Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book A, p. 153; Session Minutes Salt River Presbyterian Church, p. 55; Membership Roll Book, op. cit., p. 185.
to their work. Money for a bell was provided by the Indians from Sacaton. 99

Upon the completion of three years service in this field, interest in this work caused Gill to leave the Sunday School Union and become affiliated with the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions in 1899 where he served as assistant missionary in charge of the Salt River field under Cook. 100 Under his direction the church was felt sufficiently strong to be organized by the fall of 1900. Cook spent two days at the Salt River church in company with Rev. R. M. Craig and there he baptized twenty-one adults and a number of children. The Salt River or Fifth Presbyterian Church was then organized with some eighty members in the evening of October 28. 101

Gill also organized services among the Maricopas who were living around Lehi, about four miles east of the Salt River Agency and in 1901, he built a chapel there with money raised by the Indians and some of their white friends. For this purpose, the Board of Church

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99 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, Miscellaneous papers in front of book; Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book A, pp. 167-168; Membership Roll Book, op. cit., p. 186; Gill to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Scottsdale, Arizona, (June 23, 1898), No. 29164, Letters received, numerical files, education, 1898, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Wynkoop to Hamilton, op. cit.

100 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, Miscellaneous papers in front of book; La Aurora, op. cit.

101 From a copy of the quarterly report, dated Jan., 8, 1901, Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, Miscellaneous papers in front of book. The government field matron, Mary Thompson, in a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, described a church congregation at Salt River: "It is fully a year and a half, I think, since I saw a grown person or a child climb in or out of a window during church service and when I look
Erection gave $125.

In spite of the success of his work, Gill found that he could not conscientiously subscribe to the doctrines of the Presbyterian Church and found it necessary to resign on July 1, 1902, leaving the field on July 8. Edward Jackson was appointed his successor, but the work proved more than he could do with his limited education and qualifications, and as a result of this, in January, 1903, Rev. and Mrs. Wynkoop were moved to Salt River to assume charge of the work there.102 While in charge, Wynkoop alternated with his Indian helper in preaching at the Maricopa chapel and at the Pima chapel. On May 16, 1903, a committee composed of Cook, Wynkoop and McAfee was appointed to organize a church for this group of Maricopas around Lehi and the few Pimas who lived with them.103 A year later, at the meeting of Presbytery on April 20, 1904, the committee reported that the time was ready for the organization of a church there. Cook preached the sermon for the occasion, McAfee presided over the formal organization and Wynkoop conducted the ordination

over the Sunday congregation, none of them in startling nudity, but all clothed, and many of them clean and neatly dressed and only four or five old men with their hair long and all attentive to the service, I can but say, 'what hath God wrought among the Salt River Pimas.'" Thompson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Salt River, (Jan., 2, 1901), No. 2938, Letters received, numerical files, Education, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.


103 Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book B, p. 20.
and installation of officers. Fifty-seven members were enrolled and six officers were installed. The church became known as The Second Presbyterian Church of Maricopa Indians.

Exactly two years from the time of his appointment, Wynkoop left Salt River to take up work among the Navajo Indians north of Flagstaff and Ellis was moved from the Gila Crossing field to serve as a medical missionary to the Indians of the Salt River.

This work among the Pimas spread over many miles and resulted in the construction of seven churches which had been constructed for the Pimas and Maricopas. These churches, which were valued at $7,050, had a total seating capacity of 1,770 people and the fact that they were usually filled, speaks for the effectiveness of the work.

In 1907, work among the Mohave Apaches at McDowell was taken over by the Board of Home Missions and added to the Salt River field under the jurisdiction of Ellis, who visited there every three weeks for meetings. A little later the Apache work on the Verde was also attached to the Salt River field and any converts from these fields became members of the Salt River Presbyterian Church.

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104 Ibid., p. 35.


Nearly all of the early Indian helpers who assisted the white workers in the mission work were trained by Cook and proved faithful to a difficult task, for salaries were small and most of them worked small farms in order to supplement their means of livelihood. John Manuel helped one year and Carl Schurz assisted until his death on January 22, 1899. Edward Jackson, who has already been mentioned, was appointed in the summer of 1894 and in 1899, three new assistants were appointed: Thomas Lewis at Blackwater, Horace Williams at Vah Ki, and Joseph McDonald at Gila Crossing. In the spring of 1900, Siras Sun was appointed to the First Maricopa Church and Juan Eamas to the Salt River Church. These helpers conducted Sunday services, held week day prayer meetings, and generally took care of the church.

All had not been easy for Cook however, as he pioneered this field. When he first began to preach Christianity among the Pimas, there was some opposition, especially from the medicine men who were united in opposing him. To keep the young men from attending his services, the medicine men would persuade the captain of the village to have a hunt on Sunday in order to kill a witch in the body of a

108 L. W. Pierson, Carl Schurz, contains a brief biography of this man.


110 Various Memoranda, op. cit., p. 14; Minutes of Presbytery of Arizona, Book B, pp. 17, 44.

111 Russell, op. cit., p. 266; Edward Jackson said that there were about seven who became Christians; three around Sacaton, three at Vah Ki and one at Blackwater.
rabbit and at such times only women and a few old men were in his con-
gregation. Because this did not discourage Cook, several threats
were made to kill him if he did not stop his preaching. Once, while
he was operating the trading post for Hayden, several Indians demanded
that he open his store on Sunday and threatened to tie him to a tree
and use him as a target if he didn't. When Cook refused to listen to
them, they went away, returning the next day to tell him that he could
preach, but could not trade. Cook replied that that was alright if
they would give him enough on which to live and, since they did not
wish to finance him, he was permitted to trade as well as to preach.
Still others sought vengeance against him, and at another time a group
came up from Vah Ki at night to kill him. When they looked in his
window and saw the whole family kneeling in family prayer, they merely
laughed as they thought that they were crying and afraid. They re-
turned home, leaving Cook unharmed.

Another such incident took place when Cook had taken a group of
children on a picnic. Some drunken Indians on horseback tried to run
over him while he was playing his little folding organ. Each time they

112 *Home Missions Monthly*, XV, No. 4, (Feb., 1901), p. 78.

113 Among the Pimas, p. 39; interview with Edward Jackson, July
3, 1942; with George Walker, June 11, 1942.

114 Interview with Edward Jackson, July 3, 1942; with Horace
Williams, June 7, 1942.
advanced, the horses turned aside and, as a result of this episode, Miguel Antone, a blind man and one of the instigators of the plot, became a Christian.

Nor was Cook alone to feel the brunt of the persecution. Some of his early converts suffered petty persecution because they would not participate in heathen festivals, use witchcraft in case of sickness, nor conform to many superstitious practices.

One of the chief objections to Christianity held by the medicine men was that it put an end to the profitable business they had had for so many years. They did everything they could to keep the Pimas and Maricopas stirred up against the white man's religion, and it was only when the people saw that they were only telling them lies that their influence waned.

When Cook first came, very few of the Indians had English names, but as they became Christian and had their children baptized, they asked Cook to give them names. He selected many names from the General Assembly minutes and also gave many of them Bible names from both the Old and New Testaments. The workers in the Agency gave many of them names of outstanding people, such as "U. S. Grant," "Samuel Houston," "Nathaniel Hawthorne," "James Fulton," "John Greenleaf Whittier," "Elizabeth Browning," "Carl Schurz," and many others. A number were

115 Interview with Edward Jackson, July 3, 1942; with Antonio Juan, June 7, 1942; with George Walker, June 11, 1942.

116 The Church at Home and Abroad, I, No. 4, (April, 1887), p. 327.

117 "The Medicine Man and the Christian Religion," a speech given
named Cook.

The baptismal records of the church at Sacaton show that Cook baptized over 1,200 people between March 17, 1889, and April 6, 1899, and over 600 between October 12, 1902, and March 26, 1911. On the list were names of many who had retained their Indian names such as Machulas of Cottonwoods, Mrs. Hannah Lawsa Hohokum, or names of a personal description given as a means of identification such as "sore-eyed man," "very sore eyes," "man with weak eyes," "related to lame man," etc.

The influence of Christianity and education had a civilizing effect on the Indians, who early attended the services with their faces unpainted and their long hair out and combed. There was also a marked effort toward cleanliness and sanitation in both their person and their homes. A different type of home was encouraged as the "ki" was considered a great obstacle to the civilization of the Pimas. Inducements such as a wagon and harness were offered to any Indian who would build an adobe house. School children from Tucson and from the government

118 Interview with Mrs. Herndon, Feb., 27, 1942; Session Minutes of Sacaton Presbyterian Church, 1895-1899, Baptismal Records.

119 Session Minutes of Sacaton Presbyterian Church, 1895-1899, Baptismal Records.

120 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, Miscellaneous papers in front of book.

121 Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882, pp. 7-8; 1886, pp. 38-39.
schools also played an important part in improving the homes of their families when they brought home the things which they had learned about good housekeeping. Cook described the integration of the work in the Tucson school with his work by saying, that on the reservation the most advanced Christians were in those villages where the Tucson pupils resided and that they were a great help to the work. Almost all those who were Christians as early as 1893 had good homes with shingled roofs and they also had beds, chairs, tables, stoves, sewing machines, etc. Their progress was reflected in faithfulness to their duties at home and at church where they were regular in attendance in spite of great heat in the summer time.


123 Cook to Herndon, Sacaton, (May 1, 1902), in Herndon Scrapbook No. 1, p. 9.

124 Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1891, p. 217; 1893, p. 121; 1894, pp. 107-108; Home Missions Monthly, VIII, No. 4, (Feb., 1894), p. 86. Miss Laura Pierson, one of the teachers at Tucson, described a church service she attended as follows: "I stayed with Rev. Charles Cook and Sunday drove with Edward Jackson, a native evangelist, formerly one of our boys, to a church eleven miles distant. The little village seemed deserted when we reached it as most of the Indians were across the river camping in their harvest fields. The church bell was rung and soon they began streaming in from all directions. Here and there groups of Tucson girls were conspicuous in their clean dresses and sailor hats. The church was crowded in spite of the great heat. Parents and children came together, yet the order was excellent. The singing was led by three of our girls. The preaching was in the Indian tongue so I could not understand it, but I noticed, hot as it was, the most earnest attention was given throughout the service." Home Missions Monthly, XIII, No. 4, (Feb., 1899), p. 75.
This progress was apparent to outsiders, for one of the government agents wrote that the members under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian church on the reservation were model citizens, were inclined to civilization, orderly, quiet, honest, truthful, industrious and law-abiding. He concluded his remarks by saying that he could not refrain from this commendation because it was so justly deserved. \(^{125}\)

While Cook's prime purpose in working with the Pimas was to Christianize them, he did not stop there, but he attempted to minister to the whole man. He taught the Pimas the simple story of Christ, and he also taught them better ways of living; he worked to protect their water rights just as faithfully as he preached the Ten Commandments. \(^{126}\)

One of Cook's chief secular interests was the economic welfare of the Pimas. He wanted the students, especially the older boys in school, to secure training in cattle and horse raising, in irrigating a field, engineering or in storekeeping and, since they were an agricultural people, this meant the raising of good crops which was contingent on a good supply of water. The securing of water for these Indians proved a gigantic task for which Cook was to lay the foundation.

\(^{125}\) Cleveland to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sacaton, (Nov., 10, 1897), No. 48429 in 79225-26-09 Pima file 816.2, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

\(^{126}\) Belknap, op. cit., p. 4.

\(^{127}\) Cook to Herndon, Sacaton, (July 4, 1906), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 3, Miscellaneous papers in front of book.
CHAPTER III

THE PIMA WORK AFTER 1910

For his pioneer work among the Pimas, Cook was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in the summer of 1903 at Park College, Parkville, Missouri and this spurred him on to even greater effort and initiative. However, the years of heavy responsibility and physical injuries had taken their toll from him and, in 1909, the Board of Home Missions sent a letter to all of the Presbyterian seminaries asking for a man to go to Arizona to help Cook, whose health was failing and whose years of service were beginning to tell on him.

This letter, in the form of an appeal for help, was read by Dirk Lay, who was then attending Dubuque Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa. Lay, at that time, did not pay much attention to it as he was desirous of administering to a large city parish, but after reconsidering the matter, he forced himself to accept the Indian work for a one-year period. This one year stretched into twenty-seven years of service that Lay gave to

1 Sifferd to Hamilton, Parkville, Missouri, (July 17, 1947), Hamilton personal file; Minutes of Synod of New Mexico, 1903, p. 32; Assembly Herald, X, No. 2, (Feb., 1904), p. 71, Cook's reaction to his receiving the degree is interesting: "The honor conferred was altogether unsought and unexpected. When I was promoted in the Potomac Army, it meant, and was, an incitement to more brave and faithful service. It is in the afternoon and there is still very much undone and much to be occupied. However, I hope, with the Lord's blessing, when evening comes, my discharge papers from the great Presbyterian Army may read as well as those from the Potomac Army where I helped to fight many battles under brave General Warren, who had much Indian blood in his veins. In case I should visit Germany once more, the D. D. may please some of my friends and relatives; as to my red brethren here, they do not care much for any
the Indian field.  

Upon completion of his work at the Seminary, Lay and his wife of a few months arrived at Sacaton to begin his work with Cook on September 3, 1910. He immediately took over several of the preaching assignments in order to relieve Cook to that extent.  

Cook's health steadily failed, however, and in the summer of 1913 he went for a rest to Nodaway, Iowa, to the home of his daughter, Mrs. Anna C. McCain. It was on June 16 of the same year that he sent his resignation to the Board of Home Missions with the request that the Presbytery of Arizona place him on the honorably retired list. But the Home Missions Committee asked that he be continued on his regular salary until April 1, 1914, in the hope that his health would permit him to take up the work again. Since his health was no better on the latter date, he was placed on the retired list because of age and began drawing a pension of $300 annually from the Board of Ministerial Relief. This was supplemented in addition by a

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2 P. Robinson, The Pimas Find a Moses, p. 3; John T. Faris, "Dirk Lay, Indian Missionary," in Forward, LVI, No. 28, (July 10, 1937), p. 14; Lay was born on a farm nine miles southeast of Hastings, Nebraska on January 21, 1866. He graduated in 1907 from the University of Dubuque, Iowa. He then completed his seminary training and was ordained by the Presbytery of Dubuque, on Spet 19, 1910. Senate Report, No. 129, 68th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 4-5.


4 Cook to Herndon, Nodaway, Iowa, (Aug., 28, 1913), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, between ppl. 8-9; Pension Record, op. cit.

5 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book C, pp. 187-206; Minutes of Synod of Arizona, 1914, p. 9; Cook to Herndon, Nodaway, Iowa. (No date), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, p. 8.
government pension of $30 per month received for his army service.

In spite of his absence from the field, he was still very much interested in his Pima friends as his correspondence shows:

Gladly would I spend some ten years more among the Arizona Indians, but I am near seventy-nine years old and my stay in this world will not be long. I should be glad to meet and see your people and all of you, but I am getting old and weak and have little prospect of going to Arizona.

Should I live a half year longer, perhaps I could send a little help to some of my Pima friends, if not, we must do the best we can to help each other all we can.... Please tell my Papago friends not to give up the Bible, but to read it and learn to love its teachings.7

At 2:30 A. M. on Friday morning, May 4, 1917, Cook, the senior member of Phoenix Presbytery, died at the home of his daughter. Memorial services were held on May 20 for him in all of the churches on the Pima reservation and as the years passed his memory lived on in the hearts of the Indians.8 On May 29, 1938, a centennial service was held for him at

6 Pension Record, op. cit.

7 Cook to Herndon, Nodaway, Iowa, (No date), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, p. 9.

8 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, p. 8. The Synod of Arizona paid him the following tribute: "That Dr. Cook was faithful to the talent entrusted to him, a Christian tribe bears witness. That he was courageous, the journey from Chicago to the deserts of Arizona and self-support for years, while he preached to the untutored Indians along the Gila, proves; that he obeyed the Scriptural injunction, 'be ye hospitable one to another,' the many times he so thoughtfully entertained so many of his brethren, and largely at his own cost inaugurated the camp meetings, reveals. Resolved: That in the death of Rev. Charles H. Cook, D. D., the Synod of Arizona has lost its senior member and beloved fellow worker, and that the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., has lost one of its most effective and faithful missionaries." Minutes of Synod of Arizona, p. 12. In noting the 50th anniversary of Cook's coming to Arizona, the Presbytery of Phoenix stated: "Anyone interested in Home Missions must rejoice in the transformations that have taken place among the people. To find them educated, Christian and missionary in Character is a wonderful commentary on the Gospel of Jesus. Dr. Cook has left an indelible influence upon Arizona in commercial
Sacoaton where approximately 860 people gathered in the church, with many more outside who could not get in. According to some of the older Indians, it was the largest crowd of Pimas that had ever gathered for any purpose in one place. Sixteen different choirs sang at the church service and there was an address by Alfred Jackson in the Pima tongue from Cook's old pulpit, followed by a closing eulogy delivered by Dr. George Logie. After a three hour meeting, the service was moved to the site of the first Pima day school, where a monument was unveiled by two of Cook's daughters.

A tribute, made during his lifetime, is fitting to summarize his contribution to the work:

One can, without stretching of fact, say that the Pimas are well advanced in the way of civilization, much of which is due to one man, the sort of man which is born not made. It is Dr. Cook, the Pima missionary. No doubt the advance has been to him heartbreakingly slow, and there have been many days when he could not but wonder, 'What is the worth of it all?' Still his thirty years of patient work have brought a real uplifting, a showing few men can make of their life effort.

As Cook's administration ended and Lay's began, Lay experienced much opposition from the Indians because of his different approach to the work. The first thing he attempted was the reorganization of the Sunday Schools which Cook had started and which had ceased to function.

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The first meeting in 1913 brought only one Indian, a Henry Johnson, as many of the other Indians were afraid that heresy would be taught in these schools. This idea was finally overcome by Lay's steadfast work and by 1922, there was a total enrollment of over 1,500 in six of these Sunday schools.

The next thing attempted by Lay was the raising of money to rebuild the old Sacaton Church, which had been in constant use since 1884 and which was inadequate in space, into a new and much larger building. To do this, Lay and several of his Indian helpers, Manuel Roberts, Horace Williams, Edward Jackson, John Howard and Xavier Hawker, went to different parts of the country in 1916 and 1917 to collect funds for the new church and while Lay was away, Rev. J. O. Willette took charge of the preaching.

As a result of this campaign, about $17,000 was raised by contributions from those interested in the work with the Board of Home Missions furnishing $8,000, half as a gift and the other half as a loan and the Indians donating about $3,100 in cash and labor. Thus, Lay was enabled to construct a new church edifice and, after the building

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11 Interview with George Walker, June 11, 1942; Belknap, op. cit., p. 12.

12 Session Minutes of Sacaton Presbyterian Church, pp. 7, 9, 18; interview with George Walker, June 3 and 11, 1942; with Horace Williams, June 7, 1942; Session Minutes of Vah Ki Presbyterian Church, p. 18. President Seiberling of the Goodyear Rubber Co. met one of the Pimas on the train and when he found out what he was doing, he gave him a check for $500. Home Lands, II, No. 4, (Oct., 1920), p. 2.

13 Belknap, op. cit., p. 7; Randolph to Morse, New York, (Sept., 17, 1940), in Phoenix Presbytery, Pima file, Board of National Missions
was completed in 1918, one of the government Indian inspectors, E. M. Sweet, stated that it was the best Indian church in the service and that it was well attended as the building of the new church had resulted in greatly stimulating the interest of the people in church and Sunday school attendance.  

The work continued to grow and remained an independent unit until the fall of 1940 when all of the church property at Sacaton was transferred to the Board of National Missions. The session of the church, meeting on August 25, 1940, decided that the church could not pay the insurance premiums and unanimously agreed to the transfer of the property. This property consisted of the church, a frame house built about 1913, for the construction of which the Board of Church Erection had furnished the money, the Westminster Cottage, which was built for the Director of Religious Education in 1928 with $2,000 donated by the First Presbyterian Church of Ottumwa, Iowa, and the manse, built in 1928 at a cost of $8,500 donated by Mrs. Milton Stewart of Pasadena, California.  

Because of his contribution to the work, Lay received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, presented on June 4, 1919 at Dubuque, Iowa and he returned to the work with renewed zest and interest. However, as the work became so heavy, Lay asked for an assistant to aid him, and

files; Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, p. 22.


15 Randolph to Morse, op. cit.

16 Loetscher to Hamilton, Dubuque, Iowa, (Oct., 23, 1942),
the pastor of the Presbyterian church in Phoenix asked George Walker, a young man in his congregation, whether he would go. Walker agreed and soon after resigned his job. On June 1, 1925, he was appointed Lay's assistant and assigned to take charge of the church at Blackwater. The old building there, constructed in 1888, was so dilapidated that it was necessary to build a new one and in February, 1927, a new church was dedicated, made possible through a gift of $4,000 given by Mrs. Milton Stewart for this purpose. In the meantime, Walker had been taking special work to prepare for the ministry to which he was ordained by the Presbytery of Phoenix in 1928.

Responsibility for the work at Gila Crossing fell on Lay early in 1923 when the Rev. F. V. Richards, who had been supervising the field, was killed in an automobile accident. One of the Indian helpers worked with Lay in conducting services here.

Like most of the other churches, the one at Vah Ki, built in 1897, was in a dilapidated condition. From April, 1913, it had been known as the Presbyterian Indian Church of Casa Blanca, but at the request of the session, its name was changed by Presbytery to the Vah Ki Presbyterian Church in February, 1927. The bad condition of this church had been

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Hamilton personal files; Session Minutes of Sacaton Presbyterian Church, p. 31.

17 Interview with George Walker, June 4 and 12, 1942; Minutes of Synod of Arizona, 1927, p. 38; George Walker file, 1938-1940, Board of National Missions files.

18 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, p. 188; interview with Dr. George Logie, June 12, 1942.

noticed by Dr. Thomas G. Koonts, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Oil City, Pennsylvania when he visited the Pima Camp meeting in 1927, and when he returned home, he presented the need of the Vah Ki Church to his members. Mrs. Edith C. Justus, gave $5,000 for the new building which was dedicated as the Culbertson Memorial Chapel in memory of Mrs. Justus' parents, in October, 1927. Koontz, Lay and Horace Williams, one of the Pima evangelists, conducted the dedicatory service for the new edifice.20

With new buildings on the other fields, the Salt River congregation in 1919 and 1920, raised $1,000 for a new church building for their community. Active in this work was Dr. Ellis, who had resigned as government physician to give his whole time to the Presbyterian Church. This decision was made possible by the West End Church of New York City which promised to pay his salary for full time work.21 With $1,000 already raised, the congregation asked the Board of Church Erection for an additional $3,750. This was granted but instead of erecting a new church, a social hall was added to the old church and the dedicatory service was held on January 2, 1921. 22

20 Minutes of Synod of Arizona, 1927, p. 38; interview with George Walker, June 12, 1942; Women and Missions, IV, No. 11, (Feb., 1928), p. 403; interview with Lewis D. Nelson, June 6, 1942.

21 Minutes of Synod of New Mexico, 1910, p. 10.

The work of Ellis, assisted by Mr. George Gebby, grew from the Salt River Reservation to Fort McDowell among the Apaches and, as a result of this work, the first Presbyterian Church at Fort McDowell was organized on January 13, 1924, with forty-one members, including two elders and two deacons who had been elected. Wilson Walker, a graduate from the Cook Bible School in 1920, was able to assist in this field. Another Pima helper, Joseph Wellington went to Clarkdale where some Mohave-Apache were working, with the result that another Apache church was organized on January 30, 1924, known as the Clarkdale Indian Presbyterian Church with thirty-eight members from which two elders and two deacons had been elected.

23 Membership roll book, op. cit., p. 186; Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, p. 213. At the Pima camp meeting in October, 1917, an Apache medicine man was visiting. He was surprised at the kind of reception he received from his former enemies and said, "You Pimas have something we do not have. Won't you send one of your Christian young men to tell us what it is." At first no one responded to his request, but at last Wilson Walker said, "If no one else will go, I will." He sold his trading post, turned his land over to his relatives and enrolled at Cook Bible School, taking his wife and three children with him. Twice a week he drove his wagon the thirty-three miles to Fort McDowell. After his graduation, he moved to Ft. McDowell with no promise of a definite salary, depending entirely on what the Pima churches contributed. At first there was very little response to his efforts, and it was not until he had proven himself to the Apaches by digging, almost singlehandedly, an irrigation ditch for them that they began to attend his services. Before he died in July, 1935, about half of the tribe were members of his church and at his funeral, nearly the whole tribe was present. Interview with George Walker, June 4, 1942; Missionary Review of the World, LV, No. 7-8, (Jul-Aug., 1932), pp. 454-456; Miscellaneous papers in possession of Dr. Logie; Survey of Conditions of Indians in the United States, Hearings, U. S. Senate 71st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 8228; Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, pp. 22-23.

24 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, pp. 22-23, 213.
Although not as extensively as in early days, the work among the Marioopas on the Salt River Reservation at Lehi and, to a certain extent on the Gila River Reservation, was hindered for many years by the activities of the medicine men who tried to influence the people against Christianity. To counteract this, the pastor was requested to see as many as possible and explain to them the error of their way and the session was instructed by the pastor to do all they could to counteract the influence of the medicine men, showing the people that that element was antagonistic to Christian growth and civilization. At this time the Mormons also made things difficult for the Presbyterians by attempting to proselyte them.  

On April 1, 1930, Ellis retired from the Salt River field and moved to Phoenix. He was succeeded by Walker who was placed in charge of the Salt River, Lehi, Clarkdale, McDowell and Prescott fields. Four years later, on December 1, 1934, Walker was also given supervision of the Papago churches. With such a large field, there was felt the need for an assistant and, in 1937, Walker was transferred back to Sacoaton and Rev. A. K. Looker was assigned to the Salt River Church. The latter remained on the field until 1942 when Walker again assumed the responsibility for the larger reservation field.

25 Session Minutes of Salt River Presbyterian Church, pp. 202, 209, 211.


In addition to the work on the different reservations, there was need of a work in Phoenix, where a number of the Indians had settled. At first, when any of these Indians wished to become church members, they joined the First Presbyterian Church of that city, but this arrangement was not too satisfactory and there was early felt the need of a separate Indian church. In October, 1911, Rev. John C. Van der Las began a work for the Presbyterian Indians living in Phoenix and, at this same time, a committee composed of Van der Las, Rev. H. M. Campbell and Ellis was appointed to consider the organization of a church. It was not until February 4, 1915, however, that the organization was effected. Rev. George Logie had taken Van der Las' place on the committee and he, along with Campbell and Ellis, met at the Cook Bible School with those interested. On March 3, the organization was completed with the installation of two elders, Calvin Emerson, an elder of the Salt River Indian Church, and William D. Himebaugh, a Sunday School missionary. Twenty-five members were received as charter members by letter from the First Presbyterian Church of Phoenix. The first pastor of this new church was Claude R. Brodhead who was, in turn, followed by R. K. Kortkamp, George Logie, Clarence Burd, M. T. Usner, George Patterson, and Carl Higgs. Most of the activities of this church are conducted

28 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book C, p. 127.

29 Session Minutes of Phoenix Indian Church, p. 1; Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, p. 212.

30 Session Minutes of Phoenix Indian Church, p. 1.
in connection with the Cook Bible School.

Because of the scattered population on the reservations, there are small chapels in several of the villages, which are under the jurisdiction of the organized churches and which are generally under the supervision of at least one of the elders of the parent church. These chapels are used for Sunday evening meetings, prayer meetings and young people's meetings. The Sacaton church has chapels at San Tan, Stotonic, Sacaton Flats and Lower San Tan, while the Gila Crossing church has the Co-op chapel, and the Vah Ki church has chapels at Goodyear, Snaketown, Ak Chin, and Bapchule. 31

31 Belknap, op. cit., p. 8; Session Minutes of Vah Ki Presbyterian Church, p. 73.

32 Miscellaneous papers in George Walker file, 1938-1940, Board of National Missions files. It has been impossible to locate much specific information on all of these chapels, and thus, mention can be made of only a few. The work of Stotonic was started quite early. In 1910-1911, Narcisse Porter was carrying on the work. Cook said: "Rome is working hard to capture our people living in that neighborhood where some 800 people live as sheep without a shepherd." Various Memoranda, op. cit., p. 127. There had been an old chapel at Lower San Tan, but the walls fell down in 1938 and a new one was started that year. The Indians designed it, making it look like the church at Saoaton and did all of the work on it themselves. (Walker to Randolph, Sacaton, Aug., 3, 1940), in George Walker file, 1938-1940, Board of National Missions files. The work at the Cooperative Village, or more commonly, Co-op, was begun by Wynkoop in an attempt to get the people to work together in all of their projects. (Wynkoop to Hamilton, Leavenworth, Kansas, April 6, 1942), Hamilton personal file. There were some at Co-op who wanted their group organized into a church in 1919 and 1920, but a committee from Phoenix Presbytery met with them, "a free discussion was held by many of these present, and it was decided that the time was not opportune for the organization of a separate church." Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, pp. 52-79. The Goodyear and Snaketown chapels were both built in 1938, Minutes of General Assembly, 1939, p. 28. A-k-Chinn is a small Papago village about twenty miles southwest of Sacaton. The work was started in 1916 by Horace Williams; Millard Walker served many years here,
These reservation churches and chapels conduct many other religious activities in addition to the regular Sunday preaching services. In each of the churches, a young people's work is carried on, and in recent years conferences are held in the summer to bring together groups of young people from all of the churches. For many years, during the summer, daily vacation Bible schools have been held, conducted by teachers from the school in Tucson; by some of the workers on the reservation; and by some of the older school children. Weekday religious education classes are held in all of the government day schools on the reservation.

In order to correlate the church, the home and the community, on the reservations, the need of a community worker was felt. In 1923 Gladys Coray was appointed as the first community worker to assist Lay in the work on the Sacaton field by teaching home-making to the women and by helping in the youth activities. In turn she was succeeded by Dorothy Twing, 1926, Sarah Lay, 1928, Amelia Robinson, 1928, Swanette Barth, 1930, Catherine Walker, the wife of Wilson Walker, 1935 and Ima B. Ramsey, 1937. The latter was made Director of Religious Education on the Pima Reservation under Walker.

From April 1, 1921 until April 1, 1930, the work at Gila Crossing, supported by the people of the Vah Ki Church. (Session Minutes of the Vah Ki Presbyterian Church, pp. 14, 73, 144.)

33 Interview with George Walker, June 11, 1942; Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book E, p. 205.
Salt River and Sacaton was used as a demonstration center for work among the Indians by the Department of Church and Country Life Work of the Board of Home Missions. 34

Important in the work of the different churches was that of the Indian elders who exercised considerable control over the lives of the church members. Districts within each church constituency were outlined and an elder assigned to watch over each church family in his district. They reported to the session any infractions of the moral or spiritual codes, anyone who backslid, or who did not take communion; they also decided when prayer meetings were to be held in their districts. The work of the elders remained the same through the years and in 1911 an Elders' Association was organized, primarily for making the arrangements for the annual camp meetings. 35

The elders are assisted in their work by the deacons, who are responsible for seeing that the widows' houses are in good repair, that all of the homes have enough wood for the winter and, in case of sickness in a home, that all of the necessary work is done. When such work has to be done, it is announced in the church service and all of the men are expected to assist. The deacons also make arrangements for funerals and dig the graves. 36

34 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, pp. 136-137, 260.

35 Interview with Antonio B. Juan (who was ordained as an elder in 1899), June 7, 1942; with George Walker, June 11, 1942; with Lewis D. Nelson, June 6, 1942. See Appendix C for excerpts from the various session minutes showing the importance and influence of the elders.

36 Belknap, op. cit., p. 11; interview with George Walker, June 11,
One of the outstanding events of the year for the Pimas is the annual camp meeting which is the chief evangelistic effort of the year. These camp meetings were first started by Cook about 1906 at the village of Stotonic, but after approximately three years they were moved to Vah Ki and from there they were moved to Salt River and Sacaton being at present held again at Vah Ki. At these meetings, which are generally held in October and which last three or four days, over a thousand Indians gather from all over the Pima reservation and from neighboring reservations. The members camp out under the cotton-wood and mesquite trees, or beside their wagons or automobiles. Services, which sometimes last more than two hours, are held under a large shade or tabernacle which is open on all sides and there is almost continuous activity from the sunrise prayer meetings to the close of the evening meetings. After the meetings, there is follow-up work by the preachers and elders to encourage those who had taken a stand to join the church. The cost of the meetings, as well as the work, is divided among all of the participating churches. To help with the work, there are committees such as the "beef committee," to buy, butcher, and distribute meat among the visitors; the supplies committee,

1942; with Lewis Nelson, June 6, 1942; Session Minutes of the different churches.

37 Mrs. Herndon says 1906 in Herndon to Friends, Tucson (Jan., 1908), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, p. 45; Belknap says 1907, op. cit., p. 11.

38 Interview with Antonio B. Juan, June 7, 1942; with Horace Williams, June 7, 1942; with Crouse Perkins, June 7, 1942; with Edward Jackson, April 19, 1942.
to distribute flour, coffee and sugar; the "smiling committee," to see that visiting people have a comfortable place to stay; the hay committee; the fiscal committee, and the program committee. The meetings also serve as a social gathering for many of the people who see one another only at this time of year. 39

Most of the native helpers in the church work on the reservation have not been ordained ministers because they lacked the necessary educational qualifications. There are six men, however, who, because of their long service or special aptitude, have been ordained. They are: Edward Jackson, ordained December 23, 1920 at the celebration at Sacaton of the semi-centennial of the arrival of Cook among the Pimas; Calvin Emerson and Joseph Wellington, ordained January 28, 1923; William Peters, ordained April 12, 1927; Panjo Pablo ordained September 25, 1928; Esau Joseph, ordained April 19, 1942 and Roe Blaine Lewis, ordained October 19, 1947. The latter is the first college and seminary trained Pima minister. 40

The zeal of these Presbyterian leaders was well known on the reservations and the following letter from a Catholic priest to his superior illustrated the intensity of their work:

39 Interview with George Walker, June 3, 1942; Minutes of General Assembly, 1934, p. 32; 1938, p. 88; 1939, p. 25. Home Missions Monthly, XXXV, No. 4, (Feb., 1921), p. 77; Session Minutes of Vah Ki Presbyterian Church, p. 33.

40 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, pp. 115-116, 173, 302, 350; Fulton to Hamilton, Globe, (July 8, 1947), Hamilton personal file; Annual Report, Board of Home Missions, 1921, p. 27.
Our 'friend' the Presbyterian minister in union with a legion of Pima ministers from the Cook's Bible School are canvassing the entire reservation going from house to house among our Catholics, preaching progress and emancipation from the worn-out Catholic religion. Since the Interworld movement is on their boldness seems infinite. I hear that this open proselytism is forbidden by positive laws, but can find them nowhere in black and white. When a Protestant becomes a Catholic the 'Elders' are at him day in and day out; a veritable nest of hornets turn out to get him back with the result that the Catholic, to get rid of their importunities, drops all religion. Our agent here, a wonder composition of strong words and no action, seems to be completely under the thumb of Rev. Lay, and a 'Yes, Father, I'll see to it,' is the sum total of our success. Could you, Reverend Father, advise as to what action I should take to stop this damnable Presbyterian audacity. Could you send me a copy of those laws that forbid this proselytism. Rev. Lay is going to build a $1,000 Y. M. C. A. here. The Secretary was here some months ago and organized it -- Reverend Father, any advice or help you can give me in this distressing situation will be deeply appreciated. At Komatke, the Presbyterians are molesting the Catholic Indians in the same manner with the same results. Our government farmer is evidently under the influence of minister Richards.

In the early days the land for the church buildings on the reservation had been obtained by application to the government and, if approved, the land belonged to the church as long as it was used for its intended purpose. In the event of the discontinuance of such use, the land reverted to its original owners. At the present time, since the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, all applications for land go through the tribal councils. 42

The educational work on the reservation has been left to the government schools. However, for thirteen years the Women's Board of Home Missions did conduct a small day school at Stotonic. This school

41 Arbeiter to Ketcham, Sacaton, (April 10, 1920), No. 40745, in Pima file 816.2, 1920, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

was approved in 1919 by Martin L. Girton of the Tucson school upon the request of Lay. It was to be temporary, pending the establishment of government day schools. The problem of securing a teacher was solved in the appointment of an Indian woman, a Mrs. Mollie Schurz, who decided to help her people and sacrifice a well-paying job in the well-equipped government school at Vah Ki for the discomfort of mission teaching. She said: "I have already decided what I am going to do; I will do this work for my people. I will go over to that mission school and teach there." School began in the chapel on September 8, 1919 with an enrollment of twenty-four, which continued until the end of the school. Only the first four grades were taught. Mrs. Schurz only lived a year after starting the school and she was succeeded by Miss Jane Evans, another Pima woman. Her term lasted a year also and in 1921, Mr. Johnson McAfee took over, not only as school teacher, but also as religious worker for the Stotonic chapel. While he was there, he was made chairman of the building committee to erect a new school house in 1924. The Indians from the community donated their time in this construction. In 1932, the school was closed because the government school program was enlarged and also because of the lack of finances. Thus, the organized school program

43 Allaben to Girton, New York, (June 28, 1919); Allaben to Lay, New York (July 7, 1919) (this copy was for Girton), both in Letter file I, Tucson Indian School; interview with Dr. Girton, July 5, 1942.


45 Home Missions Monthly, XXXIV, No. 4, (Feb., 1920), p. 85;
of the Presbyterian Church was discontinued on the reservation.

In May, 1937, Lay made a trip through the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota at the request of the Board of National Missions and was later asked to transfer from his work among the Pimas to become supervisor of the Presbyterian work on the Pine Ridge Reservation. A farewell was planned for him by the Indians, and on September 3, 1937, the Sacaton Church held a supper and program for him. On September 5, he preached his last sermon to a congregation of over 900 Indians and left the field to take up the duties of his new responsibility.

Upon his retirement from the field, there was some feeling that an Indian should be made supervisor of the work, but upon a vote taken in the churches, the results were practically unanimous in favor of a white worker. Consequently, the clerk of the Elders' Association wrote to the Committee on National Missions of the Presbytery of Phoenix that he had been instructed to ask the committee to name the man they felt to be best suited for the work. George Walker was appointed by the Committee on National Missions of the Presbytery of Phoenix as supervisor of all Pima and Papago work, and he moved from the Salt River Reservation

XXXV, No. 4, (Feb., 1921), p. 92; Women and Missions, I, No. 11, (Feb., 1925), p. 428; interview with Johnson McAfee, May 22, 1942; with Narcisse Porter, June 6, 1942; with Dr. Girton, July 5, 1942.

46 Miscellaneous papers, "Supplement to the Pimas Find a Moses," in Dirk Lay file, Board of National Missions files.

47 Ibid.; Session Minutes of Sacaton Presbyterian Church, p. 136.
to Sacaton in the fall of 1937 to take up his new work. After eight years in this field, Walker was appointed director of the Cook Christian Training School in July, 1945, and Esau Joseph was chosen his successor. The following year, Joseph was given jurisdiction of the Salt River, Lehi, McDowell and Clarkdale fields in addition to the Pima and Papago work.

In conjunction with religious and educational work the Presbyterian leaders worked continually to secure water rights for the Indians who were predominately an agricultural people. Before the white man had come to Arizona, the Indians had always had an adequate supply of water to irrigate their lands, but the increased use of the water by the whites made irrigation increasingly difficult for the Indians. The first official mention of a shortage of water is found in the report of Captain F. E. Grossman, who established the agency at Sacaton in 1869. There were several other reasons for this water shortage, such as a lack of rain and the fact that a great change had taken place in the entire watershed of the Gila in eastern Arizona and a vast area which was once covered with a marvelous growth of grass had been damaged by livestock.


50 "The Pima Indians and the San Carlos Irrigation Project," Information presented to the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, 88th Congress, 1st Session in connection with S. 966, p. 47. This pamphlet tells briefly of some of the early contacts of the Pimas with the white men beginning with Father Kino and of their descriptions of Pima villages and activities. Another section tells
Because of this, flood waters had made that stream no longer dependable for irrigation.

It is not within the scope of this paper to relate all the investigations, reports, recommendations, etc. relative to the securing of water for the Gila River Reservation. For those desiring more detailed information on the San Carlos project, there is a list of references to this project on page 395 of the Twentieth Annual Report of the Reclamation Service. There is a collection of letters and petitions with reference to conserving the rights of the Pimas to the lands of their reservation and the necessary water supply for irrigation in "Conserving the Rights of the Pima Indians of Arizona," House Document Number 521, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, 1912. In "Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs," House of Representatives, 66th Congress, 1st Session, 1919, Vol 2, pp. 103-223, there is a detailed history of irrigation along the Gila River by C. H. Southworth. Mention will be made only of the work of the Presbyterian Church and its missionaries, especially Cook and Lay, in helping to secure the needed water.

Shortly after Cook had arrived in Arizona, he was confronted with the problem of a scarcity of water when some of the young Pimas, among them the chief's son and the agency interpreter, Louis, wanted to go on the war path against the whites who were using their water. As a result

of the increasing scarcity of water as observed by Indian agents and government officials, both state and national; a third section deals with the causes of the water shortage.

51 "The Pima Indians and the San Carlos Irrigation Project," op. cit., p. 59; Hudson to Sm th, Pima Agency, (May 31, 1876), No. H 618, Letters received, Arizona, 1876, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
of Cook's advice against such action, there was no trouble. Cook described the situation:

When a few years ago large fields of golden grain gladdened the hearts of the Indian cultivator, there, now we find sage brush and mesquite. Our Indians have sought out little spots here and there where the water supply holds out the longest. The Papagos for years past got most of their supply of wheat from the Pimas for help in the harvest fields or in trade. Now many Pimas and Papagos eke out a living by stealing cattle, the former from their own people, the latter more or less from whites and Mexicans. We have an abundance of good land for both tribes on this reservation. If the government helps us to a reservoir these Indians can, and no doubt will, have comfortable homes and remain self-sustaining. Our young people come home from the various schools, anxious to establish homes and go to work in earnest to make the desert bloom as the rose. With a good reservoir there would be bread enough and to spare.

At the turn of the century these conditions seemed to get worse and matters were not helped by the actions of the agent, whom the Indians felt was cheating them. The Pimas sent a letter asking the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to send them an agent who would fairly and honestly distribute to them whatever the government had appropriated for their relief. Up to July 16, 1900, nearly half of the poor and needy Indians had received nothing of the $3,000 appropriated before July 1, others received only half of their allotment and a few received the full amount. Cook went on to say:

The Pimas know that the government has sent them relief, and a number know how to figure as to how much each should get. Many found the Apaches getting better treatment than they were. All are incensed against Agent Hadley who does not give them the things voted by Congress. Some wanted to complain to the governor.

52 O. O. Howard, Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known, p. 65.

53 Home Missions Monthly, XII, No. 4, (Feb., 1898), p. 82.
of Arizona; others advocated breaking into the government storehouses; some wanted to kill the agent, but I advised them to send their complaints to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.54

In September, 1900, conditions were desperate and Cook wrote to Rev. George L. S. Spining, one of the leaders of the Board of Home Missions, telling about the starving conditions:

The Agent treats me kindly and I do not like to mix in government affairs, but this people is suffering and some are dying for want of food for no fault of their own. Our people know that the wild Apaches are treated a thousand times better while the Pimas who helped to conquer them are left to starve. I do not like to publish these things in the papers, especially before elections, but simple humanity, not to mention Christianity, urges that something must be done shortly.55

Because of this severe lack of water, many of the Indians in these years moved to other localities and found other ways of earning a living. Some went to Nevada to work on the railroad; a few worked in the mines nearby; some of the men chopped wood and made fence posts and the women made and sold baskets and ollas. The Indians on the Salt River reservation assisted the Pimas by sending almost five thousand pounds of wheat to those in need, but even with this help, many of the Pimas died of starvation.56

54 Cook to Cook, Le Mars, Iowa, (July 24, 1900), No. 38783 in classified file of 1900, Land Office, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

55 Cook to Spining, Sacaton, (Sept., 4, 1900), No. 50590, in classified file of 1900, Land Office, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

56 Various Memoranda, op. cit., pp. 1-2, 31; Cook to Jones, Sacaton, (Sept., 18, 1900), No. 50590 in Classified file, 1900, Land Office, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Home Missions Monthly, XVI, No. 4, (Feb., 1902), p. 86.
Cook made an investigation of the crops raised in some of the different villages, comparing the years of 1899, 1900 and 1901 with the average of the previous ten years. Following are his findings:

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<th>Villages</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
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<td>1/3</td>
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<td>1/2</td>
<td>1/3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>260</td>
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<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the same time he wondered what good all of the schools would amount to if the young men and young women came home to find only a poor chance to earn a living. He thought it would be better, if necessary, for the government to close its schools for a number of years and use the money in building the San Carlos reservoir with the provision that the Pimas and Papagos receive at least 40,000 acre feet of water.

So concerned was he over the plight of the Pimas that through his effort he was able to get the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at its meeting in Los Angeles in May, 1903, to pass the following resolution:

The General Assembly urgently requests the Secretary of the Interior to take steps without delay for the erection of a reservoir at San Carlos on the Gila River as recommended by himself in a report to Congress prior to the passage of the Irrigation Law, June 17, 1902, and under which he has power to act.

57 Home Missions Monthly, XVI, No. 4, (Feb., 1902), p. 86.

58 "The Pima and Papago Indians and the Water Question," (Jan., 20, 1903), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, loose paper between pp. 4-5.

59 No. 9833, Letters received, Pima Indian Division, 1903, Office
It was expected with the passing of the national reclamation act of June, 1902, that the San Carlos Dam would be one of its first projects, but instead, officials of the Reclamation Service decided that the Roosevelt Dam on the Salt River should have priority. The Pimas were told that much of their reservation could be irrigated from the Salt River reservoir and at the same time, the agent, J. B. Alexander, and the irrigation engineer for the Indians, W. H. Code, began working to get pumping stations established to make use of the underground flow of water. Code suggested at that time that the Indians give up about 180,000 acres of their land to help pay for these pumping stations, but the Indians objected to this whole project as they had seen the bad effect of the seepage water on their fields and knew that the well water wasn't good for their fields.

Antonio Asul, the chief of the Pimas, described the situation as follows:

Mr. McKinley's engineers found a way of storing this water by building the San Carlos Reservoir. This would give the needed water for the Indians.... After Mr. McKinley's death the Indian engineer and whites of the Salt River Valley persuaded our government to build the Tonto (also called the Roosevelt) Reservoir at a great cost. They also persuaded the government to build electric power pumping plants at a great cost, in order to supply the Indians with worse than worthless well water.

of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

The Pimas knew what this alkali water would do to their farms. They also had much of the water analyzed and sent two men to Washington, but the Indian Office and the Reclamation Service refused to listen to them. The Inspectors sent by the Government would not listen to our people.  

In spite of the protests by Cook and the Indian Rights Association, which he had interested in the plight of the Pimas, ten wells were dug in 1905-1906, from which it was hoped that 10,000 acres could be irrigated.  

The Indians did not believe it was possible to pump enough water to take care of their needs and they had seen that the underground water had ruined many fields at Gila Crossing and at other places on their reservation, so that they fully believed that it would ruin their farms in less than ten years. They offered to send samples of the water of the underground flow so that it could be analyzed.  

Code and Alexander, who were the leaders in advocating well water, tried to get Cook to side with them against the Pimas and, with this in mind, Alexander taught a Sunday School class for a time and advised the government employees to attend the Presbyterian Church. Code then paid Cook a friendly visit and asked whether he did not think the east end of the reservation enough for the Indians, leaving the west end containing the best part, near the 18,000 acre ranch of Chandler, Code's

62 Various Memoranda, op. cit., pp. 77-78.  
63 Chief Antonio and nearly all of the members of the Pima tribe to Leupp, Sacaton, (Mar., 1, 1906), in Various Memoranda, op. cit., pp. 79-80.
friend and business associate, for the white people. Cook replied that the Indians needed all of the land they had and from that time Code and Alexander took a dislike to Cook.

Cook did everything he could to protect the rights of the Pimas by keeping their plight publicized. He took samples of the underground water and sent analyses to F. E. Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; he opposed all attempts to take away any of their lands as they had so little that could be cultivated and the mesquite woodlands, wanted for sale, kept many of the Pimas from starving to death. He wrote:

But instead of giving us the San Carlos Reservoir, our enemies have been able to persuade the government to give us worthless well water, at an expense, I believe, of more than half a million dollars, and thus helping toward the time when this valley will become useless for farming. Had they secured for the Pimas, at the least, enough water from the Tonto (or Roosevelt) reservoir to irrigate 5,000 acres, or five acres to the family, to help out, we might have had some faith in their endeavors and useless expensive experiments. Of late years, though, with much better farm implements, they have on an average raised less than one quarter of their former crops. The Department of Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, since the time of the administration of President Roosevelt have refused to look into this matter, as the Indians see it here on the ground. The government has given the Pimas schools and otherwise treated them kindly on the one hand, but on the other hand, by listening to interested parties, it deprives them of the chance of earning a living as formerly. Our people are perplexed and do not know what course to pursue under the circumstances.

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66 Cook to Curtis, Sacaton, (April, 1910), No. 28272-10, in Pima file, 341, 1910, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
A final description of Cook's part in the securing of water for the Pimas is found in the Arizona Blade-Tribune for October 10, 1926:

As soon as shortage of water for the Pimas became apparent, Cook started to interest church people. He wrote many letters and appeared in person before prominent people in the East, asking their help. He was the first man to suggest that the only way the Indians could have their water restored would be by the construction of a storage dam and also the first man to suggest that the best way to secure the passage of a bill authorizing the construction of a dam was to make it an Indian measure instead of a Reclamation measure. Almost the first words Cook spoke to Rev. Dirk Lay when he arrived were: 'I am getting old and I want your promise that you will not leave my people until their irrigation water has been restored to them.'

When Lay took over the work from Cook, he immediately assumed the responsibility of carrying on the efforts toward the securing of water for the Pimas. For seven years he worked on this with untiring zeal and then came the war years of 1917 and 1918 with increased hardships for the Pimas as more land was put into crop production by whites and Indians and all available water was used.

Lay began a campaign to interest all of the Presbyterian churches in the project of getting water for this tribe and of gaining new friends for the Pimas. He was able to get many of the presbyteries and synods to pass resolutions similar to the following:

That the matter of water from the Gila River for Pima Indian wheat lands, which water has been usurped by white men at

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67 Arizona Blade Tribune, Oct., 10, 1925, pp. 1-2. Antonio B. Juan said that the location of the Coolidge Dam is the exact place which Cook chose as a possible site many years before the government agents approved the spot. Interview with Antonio B. Juan, April 12, 1942.

68 Stewart to Lane, Chicago, (April 27, 1918), No. 37169 in Pima file 341, 1918, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
Florence, be referred to a special committee appointed by the moderator to investigate and recommend to this meeting such actions as will insure water for the Indians in time to save their crops as well as to obtain for them permanently the proportion of the water to which they are justly entitled.

Resolved that we commend the work of the Indians on the Salt River and Gila River in their efforts to secure the water to which we believe they are entitled and that a committee be appointed to urge the claims of the Indians before the Department of the Interior, the committee to be L. P. Matthews, chairman, C. H. Ellis, D. A. Lay, H. Williams, W. J. Hamilton, W. Peters and A. Clarke.

In February, 1923, the Arizona Christian Endeavor Union held its state convention at Sacaton at which time, Lay was elected its president. This position he accepted on condition that he would be able to discuss the water problem for the Pimas whenever he wished to do so. Because of his interest in Christian Endeavor, Lay was chosen delegate to the World Convention in Des Moines in July, 1923, and at the session on the afternoon of July 6, he spoke to the 13,000 delegates present, telling them of the work being done among the Pimas and asking them for their support in urging Congress to authorize the San Carlos dam. He distributed over 5,000 copies of the following telegram among the delegates, asking that they be sent to their representatives in Congress on December 9:

In behalf of five thousand suffering Pima Indians, Arizona, we earnestly urge your support construction San Carlos Dam.

69 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, pp. 11, 159; Arizona Blade Tribune, op. cit.

Pimas hard working industrious people, fought for and protected early white settlers from Apaches. First Arizonian killed World War, Pima Indian, who volunteered. Construct San Carlos, give them water, repay debt we owe. 71

As the campaign developed, every minister in the Presbyterian Church with a congregation of over two hundred (there were 5,000) was written a personal letter asking them to write their Congressman. Other Protestant denominations as well as the Mormon and the Roman Catholic churches were urged to lobby for the proposal. Prominent men and women, civic organizations, scientific societies from all over the United States gave their support to this project and on December 9, every senator and congressman was deluged with letters and telegrams urging them to approve the measure. Letters continued to come in during the entire time the bill was up for discussion. 72

Early in December of 1922, Lay went to Washington to feel out the situation, but saw nothing was on the horizon except the dark clouds of impossibility. He spent days talking with officials from the highest to the lowest, and without exception they all said that it could not be done. One day he took a rough draft of the San Carlos project to Senator Ralph Cameron who read it through and said, "If God lets me live until the United States Senate meets again, I will introduce

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this bill and pass it this session." Both Arizona Representatives, Ashurst and Hayden thought the bill would not pass, especially so because it was not a part of the reclamation measure. 73

Cameron gave Lay office space so that he could stay on and work for the passage of the bill. The Senator polished up the bill and on December 11, he introduced the bill that was to be known as S. 966, An Act for the Continuance of Construction Work on the San Carlos Federal Irrigation Project in Arizona and for Other Purposes. The bill was then referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. 74

Testifying before this committee on February 13, 1924, Senator Cameron said:

If this bill is passed by Congress and becomes a law it will repay a debt to the Pima Indians which our government has sadly neglected and which brings a blush of shame to our 'higher civilization.' They have never killed a white man, they rendered the government valuable assistance against the Apaches—The Stotonic Pima Indian Christian Endeavor Society won the championship in an efficiency campaign in which one hundred white societies and six other Indian groups competed. For the past five years the Indians have had crop failures due to the shortage of water. The government engineers have recommended a dam at San Carlos; it is up to Congress to make appropriations. The Pimas are excellent farmers and with a small supply of water they have repeatedly taken first prizes at Arizona State Fairs in competition with whites. In 1922 they won the sweepstakes in wheat and in 1923 fifteen blue ribbons. If the San Carlos dam is not constructed it means starvation and ruin. 75


This bill was passed unanimously by the committee and on April 2, Cameron attempted to get a vote on it. Some felt they wanted more time to consider it, but the next day, Cameron, by unanimous consent, got the bill considered at which time it was passed and on April 4 was referred to the House Committee on Indian Affairs.

Soon after the Senate's approval of the bill, the following resolution was sent to the House:

The Phoenix Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., which ecclesiastic jurisdiction embraces all the Pima Indian reservation in the state of Arizona, met in session at Tucson, Arizona, April 16, 1924 and does hereby express the following sentiment toward an adequate provision of irrigation water for this destitute tribe: Inasmuch as the U. S. Senate has unanimously passed Senate Bill 966 providing for a storage dam at San Carlos, Arizona, we do hereby pray the House of Representatives of the United States will concur in passing this act.77

The House Committee on Indian Affairs, through the work of Carl Hayden of Arizona and Chairman Homer P. Snyder of New York favorably approved the bill on May 1, but that seemed to be as far as it would go as it was not on the calendar to be voted on and Congress was to adjourn on June 6.78

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church adopted a resolution which had been adopted unanimously at a meeting of 1,000

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76 Congressional Record, Vol 65, Part 6, 68th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 5399, 5493-5494, 5590. On the third reading in the Senate, one of the Ohio Senators, who had just previously killed a $1,500 bill, started to protest and then suddenly sat down. Later, he said, "something just seemed to pull me down." Lay attributed this to the fact that he had prayer meetings all over the country asking for the successful passage of the bill. Interview with George Walker, June 3, 1942.

77 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, p. 238.

78 Congressional Record, 68th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 65, Part
commissioners in session at Grand Rapids, Michigan, May 27, 1924. In this resolution they stated that since Senate Bill 966 had passed the U. S. Senate, it was recommended for passage in the House by the Committee on Indian Affairs, with the approval of the presbytery of Phoenix, the Synod of Arizona, the National Staff, the Committee of One Hundred and the Indian Rights Association. It stated that the legislation was designed to restore to the Pima Indians the water for the tillage of their lands which they had had before the settlement of the state; that there were among the Pimas over one thousand Presbyterians who, without the water, were in yearly danger of starvation and with it should be able to pay their own ministers. Because of these facts, it was resolved that the stated clerk be instructed to send telegrams to the President of the United States and to the Speaker of the House, the Honorable Fred H. Gillette which read:

"The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. earnestly requests the enactment of Senate Bill 966, known as the San Carlos irrigation project in Arizona, whereby the family life of these Indians may be established in industry and self-support, their personal character freed from its present hindrance of hunger and poverty and the churches which the boards of our church have nourished may be permanently established." 79

8, p. 7663; part II, p. 11182.

Cameron worked hard to get a vote, but on June 2, with only four days left before adjournment, a vote seemed doomed. He called Lay to his office and told him there was only one additional chance. This was a letter to President Coolidge, asking him to express his interest in the matter to the Speaker of the House so that special recognition could be given the bill. He personally took the letter to the President, further explained his mission, and was promised the President's help. That afternoon Speaker Gillette announced the Cameron Bill to be on his list and on June 4, it was approved.

The next day the Senate concurred in the House amendment; on June 6, the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate signed it; and on June 7, the President signed the bill authorizing the construction of the dam across the Gila River near San Carlos, Arizona at a cost not to exceed $5,500,000.

In writing to Senator McNary, Lay wrote expressing the full appreciation of the citizens of Arizona and voiced the sentiment of the church organization and the various national societies which had been interested in righting a wrong of more than half a century to the Pima Indians as provided in this legislation which was known as the Cameron Bill.


82 Lay to McNary, op. cit.
When Lay was asked by one of the Congressmen how much he had spent on the campaign, he said, "Eight hundred dollars altogether." This was difficult for the Congreeman to believe because he realized from his own experience that it would take thousands of dollars to create such interest. Lay's explanation was that it was planned and carried out through prayer. 83

At a mass meeting of the Pima tribe at Casa Grande in July, the following resolution was adopted and sent to President Coolidge, to the Secretary of the Interior, Work, and to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Burke:

Whereas the United States Government has restored our water rights by the passage of Senate Bill 966 and whereas every Indian born within the United States has been made a citizen; therefore, be it resolved that we Pima Indians urge every

83 Robinson, op. cit., p. 5. The dam might be said to be the answer to the following prayer by an old Indian woman on San Carlos Day at Sacaton, October 16, 1923: "Heavenly Father, we thank Thee. We want you to help us and direct us and show the way which is right for us to go. Because our land looks like wilderness, because we got no water, we got nothing to eat, because we are too poor. Sometimes we got nothing to wear, and we sorry about it. Our horses sometimes get hungry and our cows sometimes lay down and die. We sorry about it Heavenly Father. We just think way back, we have lots of water, we have plenty to eat, we plant lots and have happy homes and get good living. The white people came and shut up our water. We got nothing here and we poor. So we want, Heavenly Father, to help us to have that so we will have plenty to eat and our children will have plenty to wear and we will be alright. This trouble we have and we ask, Heavenly Father, to help us so it will be alright for us and everybody in this world." Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, pp. 248-249.
member of our tribe to clear and fence his allotment as soon as possible so that our land may be ready for the water when it comes, and further urge that our homes be made models of cleanliness and morality. We believe that our tribe should set an example for the whole state in obeying the laws of God and men. And be it resolved that we believe it to be the best for the welfare and progress of our tribe that all heathen dancing and drinking be abolished from our reservation. 

The next task that confronted the Pimas and their leaders was to prepare the land to receive the water, as it had reverted to desert and trees and bushes had grown up everywhere because of the lack of use. Lay realized that it would take considerable machinery to prepare the land, but the Indians were too poor to purchase it. He appealed to the Business and Professional Women's Society of the Presbyterian Church of Pasadena who voted to purchase a tractor from the International Harvester Company at the wholesale price of about $700. In November, 1927, Lay received the tractor at Casa Grande and had Miguel Meyers, one of the Indian pastors, drive it back to the reservation. The society had raised more than enough money, so that a fund was started for a heavier tractor which was soon purchased and Cyrus McCormick, president of the International Harvester Company, gave a combined harvester-thresher to be used by the Indians in harvesting their crops. These machines were loaned out as the farmers requested them at a cost of one sack of wheat for every eight sacks harvested and this system was continued for about three years.

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84 Women and Missions, I, No. 11, (Feb., 1925), p. 414.
85 Women and Missions, VI, No. 11, (Feb., 1930), p. 430.
86 Women and Missions, VI, No. 11, (Feb., 1930, pp. 430, 432; Robinson, op. cit., p. 5; Interview with George Walker, June 4, 1942.
The financing of this increased agricultural area presented another problem. Secretary of the Interior, Work, had once said that an irrigation farmer should have thirty dollars per acre in order to finance the planting and harvesting of a crop. Since the Pimas did not have this much, Lay and other friends of the Pimas, organized the Pima Indian Development Association, a non-profit corporation, with a capital stock of $200,000. Colonel J. E. Thompson, a retired business man, was president and Lay was treasurer. The purpose of the association was to help finance the Pimas by loaning them money for farm equipment and seed. This project lasted for about five years when it gradually dwindled away chiefly because the government had appropriated money for the development of the land and there was no further need for such an organization.

The dam was not built as quickly as its advocates had hoped. One reason for the delay was the difficulty in effecting a settlement with the Southern Pacific Railroad, fourteen miles of whose tracks were on the bed of the proposed reservoir and this settlement was not reached until April 15, 1926. Another reason for the delay was the fact that the act did not carry an appropriation and there were no available funds that could be used until after the passage of the Interior appropriation

87 Robinson, op. cit., p. 5; A pamphlet put out by the Pima Indian Development Association, Hamilton personal file.


act for the fiscal year, 1926, which provided $450,000 for the project.  

Lay spent almost three months in Washington during the first part of 1926, working to get construction started on the dam, and the construction contract was not let until November 1, 1926, when it went to Atkinson, Kier Brothers Spicer Company of Los Angeles. Work was begun on January 1, 1927 and completed exactly two years later. Storage of water was started on November 15, 1929. The day of dedication was set for March 4, 1930 with Calvin Coolidge present, at the request of President Hoover, to dedicate the dam. Will Rogers was one of the speakers and there were over 10,000 people present to witness the ceremony.

Thus was completed successfully a project that had taken time and hard work on the part of all concerned. At its conclusion, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church paid Lay the following tribute:

The main credit to this transformation has to be given to Dirk Lay whose weary months in Washington as representative of the Indians and white farmers of Southern Arizona, accomplished this result. He neglected no appeal, from visits

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92 Arizona Daily Star, Aug., 26, 1928, p. 1; The National Republic, XVIII, No. 2, p. 9; The Coolidge News, March 5, 1930, p. 1. For articles on the design and construction of the dam see Engineering News Record, Cl, No. 11, (Sept., 13, 1928), pp. 396-399; No. 12, (Sept., 20, 1928), pp. 433-442. Will Rogers was late for the ceremony and because of this he encountered some trouble. When he arrived, he could not find a parking place within two miles of the dam and the Indian soldiers on
to the President to an interview with the least interested
Congressman. Thus, one missionary, with the support of
the Chamber of Commerce and of his Pima tribe, has effected
the actual construction of the Dam which was authorized in
Roosevelt's administration. 93

*Very early in his work Cook had felt the need of a school in
which Indian workers could be trained for evangelistic work. He real-
ized that if his work was to progress, he needed a trained native
leadership -- men and women who would be able to assume the responsi-
bility of the different church offices. 94

One of the early plans was to open a training school in
connection with the work in Tucson. In April 1899, the Presbytery of
Arizona, through its Home Missions Committee and its Synodical
Missionary, asked the Women's Board of Home Missions to appoint another
worker, preferably a Presbyterian minister, to the staff of the Tucson
Indian School. He would have at least three duties consisting of

police duty would not let him leave his car. By the time he had
walked to the dam, lunch was being served. He was told he could not
attend the lunch even after trying to explain who he was. He finally
gave up and bought a hot dog. When he was introduced as one of the
speakers, he said, "I don't know whether I am going to talk to you or
not. I had to walk here; the rest of you rode. I had to pay for my
own lunch; you have fed in luxury." Paris, op. cit., p. 14; Arizona
Daily Star, March 5, 1930, p. 3. There is a complete copy of the
text of Mr. Coolidge's speech on p. 1 of the Arizona Daily Star, March
5, 1930.

93 Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.,
1927, p. 154.

conducting the religious exercises of the school, of catechising the children, and of inaugurating a training class for Indian helpers.

There were many conferences and much correspondence in regard to this matter and for a time it seemed that arrangements would be worked out, but by April 1908, the project was indefinitely postponed.

Through the next few years, Cook was continually urging the establishment of a training school, but it was not until 1910 that any definite plans were formulated. At the meeting of the Synod of New Mexico at Las Vegas in that year, the Presbytery of Southern Arizona recommended that a training school for Indian evangelists and helpers be established in connection with the Tucson Indian School. The facilities of the school were to be used for this purpose and if dormitory space were needed, the number of primary pupils was to be reduced. It was to be called the Charles H. Cook Bible School and was to open October 1, 1911.

Rev. George Logie was chosen as superintendent in the spring of 1911 and on May 1, he left his pastorate at Douglas, Arizona. The experiment was to last a year and nothing was to be done about the matter of permanent buildings until the success of the school had been proven. A room at the rear of the Tucson Papago Church was used as a classroom and living quarters were secured in the homes of some of the Indians living in the village. Students and their families were to

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95 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book A, pp. 188-189, 207.

96 Minutes of Synod of New Mexico, 1910, pp. 55-56; Indian Highways, I, No. 3, (Dec., 1945), p. 3; Thompson to Campbell, New York,
support themselves as much as possible during the six month school term. The forenoons and evenings were given to study and practical missionary work with the course of study including English, Bible, Church Government, Applied Christianity and Field Work, Church History, Elementary Theology, Music and Hygiene. During this summer, Logie and Rev. James Hayes, a Nez Pierce Indian from Idaho, visited the Pima, Mohave and Navajo reservations in an attempt to interest the Indians in the new school.

To help with the support of the students, the Board of Home Missions leased seven acres in the northeast corner of the farm of the Tucson school. The cultivated land here was to be used as a garden farm by students of the Bible School.

When school opened on October 1, only one student, William Peters, appeared, but by the end of the week, four more had registered to complete the first class. In the fall of 1913, it was decided to move the work, at least temporarily, to Phoenix because of the large government Indian school there and because Phoenix was nearer the center of a larger Indian population. When school opened in October of that year, classes met in an old mission building on South Second Avenue. A

(Mar., 30, 1911), in Logie's possession.

97 Logie to friends, Tucson, (Aug., 21, 1911), in Logie's possession.

98 Interview with Dr. Logie, June 4, 1942.


100 Interview with Dr. Logie, June 4, 1942.
number of three room apartments were rented for $12.50 a month for the use of the students and their families. 101

At the close of the year, three students, James Fulton, William Peters, and Joseph Wellington, had completed the required three years of work and were given diplomas, thus becoming the first graduates of the Bible School. 102

With the success of the school now proven, a site of about two acres of land at the corner of Indian School Road and North Second Street opposite the government Indian school was purchased in 1913 for $3,000 and a contract was signed on April 13, 1914 with Gray and McAbee Company to build five double cottages and a school building for $7,135. These were to be completed not later than July 15, 1914. 103

Since classes were held in the mornings, the students were able to work in the afternoons and on Saturdays, and because the school operated on a budget of less than $5,000 annually, assistance had to be secured from friends who sent in contributions of food and wood and provided money to help the students with their expenses. 104 During the

101 Minutes of Synod of Arizona, 1913, p. 24; interview with Dr. Logie, June 4, 1942.

102 Minutes of Synod of Arizona, 1914, p. 20.

103 Quarterly report of Logie to Board of Home Missions and to Synod of Arizona, Jan., 1 - Apr., 30, 1914, in Logie's possession; interview with Dr. Logie, June 12, 1942.

104 Indian Highways, op. cit.; interview with Dr. Logie, June 4, 1942; Minutes of Synod of Arizona, 1914, p. 19; 1928, p. 21.
depression years, only those students were enrolled who could finance themselves without the aid of scholarships. 105

Through the years, the curriculum has remained basically the same with adaptations to meet the needs of the Indians. One of the unique features of the school is the family of the worker is considered a unit for training and service and a small family may enroll for just the one tuition fee with special classes being held for the wives. 106 Along with the regular class work, there is much opportunity for the students to do practical work. The Cook Bible School is responsible for the Protestant religious work at the government school, where weekday religious education classes are held as well as the regular Sunday groups. A mile east of the government school is the East Farm Sanitarium for tubercular Indians where Sunday School classes are conducted and services held in the wards. The work at the Yaqui village of Guadalupe is also closely connected with the school through work done there. As the student advances in his religious instruction, he is given more and more responsibilities in actual Christian service. 107

In February, 1935, Logie took over the pastorate of the Phoenix Indian Church with responsibility of the religious education work at

105 Minutes of Synod of Arizona, 1934, p. 19.

106 General Information Bulletin, Cook Christian Training School, July 1, 1941.

107 Interview with Dr. Logie, June 4, 12, 1942; General Information Bulletin, op. cit.; Minutes of Synod of Arizona, 1922, p. 17; 1927, p. 42; 1928, pp. 21-22; 1930, p. 21; 1932, p. 49; 1934, p. 19.
the government Indian school, hospital and sanitarium, and Rev. D. Clarence Burd came to the school as superintendent. Then in 1937, Logie retired and Burd became superintendent of the whole Phoenix work which was renamed the Phoenix Indian Enterprise. He remained two years when he resigned to undertake a similar work in New Mexico and in that year the Board of National Missions debated the closing of the school because there were not sufficient funds to carry on the work. Miss Elsie L. Stockton was sent to take charge until something definite could be determined as to its future.

Because of the difficulty for any one denomination to support a training school for the few students desiring to enter religious service, it seemed advisable to those in charge to make this an interdenominational school. Accordingly, Dr. H. A. Randolph, Secretary of the Unit of Indian Work of the Board of National Missions, recommended in 1941 that the school become a national interdenominational project under the joint supervision of the Board of National Missions and of the Home Missions Council which is made up of representatives of about twenty-five different Protestant denominations.

In July, 1941, the first step in the reorganization of the school was made with the appointment of Rev. Earl F. Dexter by the Home Missions Council as director of religious education at the Phoenix


109 Interview with Dr. Logie, June 4, 1942; Stockton to Wynkoop, Phoenix, (Mar., 14, 1942), Hamilton personal file.
Indian School and as director of the Cook Christian Training School.

Miss Stockton was named assistant director and Rev. George Patterson, pastor of the Phoenix Indian Church and instructor in the school, became the business manager. The name was changed from the Charles H. Cook Bible School to the Cook Christian Training School.

Dexter remained two years and was then succeeded by Dr. G. A. Watermuller, who stayed as director until July 1, 1945, when Walker was brought from the Pima field to assume the work. Under his leadership the school has grown in numbers and several new buildings have been added.

All of the Indian pastors and most of the lay workers among the Pimas and Papagos are former students of the Cook School and representatives from more than twenty different tribes have received training there. The purpose of the school is best expressed by the following quotation:

...to do for as many of the rank and file of our Indian Church members, something more than is done for the young people of our American churches by summer conferences and schools of religious education, and very considerably less than is done for the graduates of our colleges and seminaries.

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110 Stockton to Wynkoop, op. cit.; Statement regarding the policy and program of the Cook Christian Training School, June 29, 1942, in Cook School file, Phoenix Presbytery, Board of National Missions files.

111 Memorandum, April 6, 1941, in Cook School file, Phoenix Presbytery, Board of National Missions files.

We have hoped to train as have already been trained, some effective Indian preachers and missionaries. But even more than this, the aim has been to train lay officers and helpers in the local Indian churches, elders, Sunday School teachers and superintendents, leaders in young people's work.113
CHAPTER IV

THE PAPAGO WORK TO 1910

Presbyterian work among the Papago Indians during this time had been only incidental. Work among the Pimas, their neighbors to the north had occupied the interest of the early workers and until 1900, a small school at San Xavier comprised their only work on the Papago Reservation.

This need for work on the Papago Reservation was felt by the Rev. W. H. Gill, who was in charge of the work on the Salt River field and, at a meeting of the Presbytery of Arizona at Sacaton on April 7, 1900, he outlined a proposed work among the Papagos. This proposal was approved and the project was placed under the care of the Home Missions Committee. Because of the need for organization, Gill was requested to make a month's tour of this country and line up the work. This proved a worthwhile trip as he had access to many villages because of contacts with the children at the Tucson School. The organization


2 Minutes of Synod of New Mexico, 1900, p. 22. The following is a description of the trip to the Papago country by Rev. Gill, taken from the Annual Report, Board of Home Missions, 1901, p. 12; "Recently the Rev. W. H. Gill made an exploring expedition among the villages of the Papagos. He and his wife with a native helper, took the journey to the southward to the very borders of Mexico and in many of the villages preached Christ to people who were eager to hear. Concerning the work at San Miguel he writes: "The whole population came to our meeting the first night. The news spread, and another village, several miles away, came the second night. They said they had never heard these things before. During our stay there fourteen accepted Christ. When we left they gathered around us to bid us farewell and urged us to come
was completed on April 6, 1901 when it was decided that Gill should spend two months per year working among the Papagos under the direct control of the Home Missions Committee of the Presbytery of Arizona.

The field was practically virgin territory as the government, likewise, had done very little for the Papagos. In 1874, a small reservation had been set aside for them at San Xavier and in 1882 an even smaller reservation had been established at Gila Bend. But these were inadequate and took care of only three or four hundred of the estimated four to seven thousand Papagos. Their welfare was further neglected in 1876 when the San Xavier Agency was consolidated with the one at Sacaton and for the next fourteen years, there was no government representative living among the Papagos, nor did the agent visit their reservation often to see about their welfare. When matters became steadily worse, a

back again."

At another village where they stayed seven days and preached eight times, he said: 'The whole village of about forty decided for Christ. At Quijotia we found about forty Indian placer miners with their families. They had a Catholic church wholly belonging to themselves, having gotten their ideas from Mexico, no white priest ever visiting them. I was invited by the chief to hold my meetings there. So the strange spectacle was seen of a Protestant missionary standing before the altar, images, burning candles, and all the gorgeous trumpery of a Romish Church, preaching Christ as the only mediator, and showing the folly and sin of bowing down to the images and worshipping the Virgin.' At the close of the service in the village, the chief, who is also a kind of priest, said to him: 'I and my people are in great darkness. We have built this church and have been worshipping God the best we knew how. We have been looking for someone a long time to come and tell us more about God and how to serve Him. You are the first to come and tell us. We want you to come back again. What can I do about teaching these people?'


4 Executive Orders relating to Indian Reservations from May 14, 1855 to July 1, 1912, pp. 23, 24.

5 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1876, pp. 6, 236;
farmer was appointed in 1890 to live on the reservation and act as a subagent under the jurisdiction of the agent at Sacaton. 6 This hap-hazard government continued until the opening years of the 20th Century when the government began to do something to improve the conditions of these Indians.

Contact with the white man and his civilization had come to the Papagos as early as the close of the 17th Century with the early Catholic missionaries, who had centered their work at San Xavier. Indians from the outlying villages occasionally attended church services at San Xavier, although at the close of the 19th Century, older Indians had never remembered a priest nor white man visiting their villages. 7

It was at this time, that other religious groups in addition to the Catholics and Presbyterians, began to take some interest in the Papagos. The Mormons made biennial journeys through the Papago country, baptizing many of the Indians and, at the same time, keeping an eye open for mines or suitable places for settlements. 8 In addition, a sect sponsored by a Mrs. Julia Schoffer caused many of the Papagos to sell their belongings and settle in the Comobabi Mountains to await the end of the world. Hunger caused the group to disperse and the sect to end. 9

1890, pp. 248, 334.

6 Ibid., 1894, pp. 108, 110.

7 Interview with Mrs. F. S. Herndon, May 1, 1942.

8 Quarterly Reports of Charles H. Cook, Jan., 8, 1901, in Herndon Scrapbook 2.

Education among this tribe in these early years was very spasmodic. For three years, beginning in 1873, two Sisters from Saint Joseph's Academy were engaged by the Government to teach, but in 1876, when the San Xavier Agency was consolidated with the Pima Agency, the school was no longer in operation. Five years later, in 1881, the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions had begun talk of organizing a school among the Papagos with the provision that the government would erect a suitable building and furnish some of the meals for the pupils. Definite arrangements were slow in being made, however, and finally the church agreed to erect buildings when a man could be sent to the field to supervise the work.

Finding such a man for this job was a difficult task, for the first appointee, a Thomas Thompson, secured in May, 1883, did not keep his appointment. The Board of Home Missions then secured the service of Dr. F. J. Hart, who was appointed by the government as teacher and physician to the Papago Indians in the summer of 1884. At this time a

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10 Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873, p. 284; 1876, p. 9; Hudson to Smith, Pima Agency, (Dec., 30, 1876), No. H95, Letters received, Arizona, 1877, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

11 Jackson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, New York, (Mar., 12, 1881), No. 6287, Letters received, Presbyterian Church, 1881, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

12 Kendall to Price, New York (July, 26, 1882), No. 13609, Letters received, Presbyterian Church, 1882, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

13 Kendall to Price, New York, (May 14, 1883), No. 8934, Letters received, Presbyterian Church, 1883, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Jackson to Price, New York, (May 21, 1883), No. 9331, ibid.
contract was arranged between the government and the church for conducting a school for the Papagos, to continue at least until June 30, 1886. 14

At the time Hart was sent to the field, there was some uncertainty as to the kind of school that should be established and, upon this decision, depended the kind of buildings that would be erected. There were factors in favor of both a day school and a boarding school, although the Board favored a day school, to be conducted on the reservation and a boarding school to be erected off the reservation so that title might be secured to the property and water to irrigate any land they might wish to cultivate. This latter plan would enable both Pimas and Papagos to attend the one school and would thus facilitate the educational work on both reservations. 15 While the Board was trying to determine a permanent plan, Hart began his small school one week after his arrival. He had rented a house for this purpose and fourteen pupils enrolled to attend classes. 16 Suspicious of him at first, the Papagos gained confidence in him when he was able to treat and cure the

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14 Report of Board of Indian Commissioners, 1884, p. 19; Kendall to Price, New York, (July 18, 1884), No. 13646, Letters received, Presbyterian Church, 1884, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Wheeler to Price, Pima Agency, A. T. (Oct., 15, 1884), No. 20493, Letters received, Arizona, 1884, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

15 Kendall to Price, New York, (July 18, 1884), No. 13646, Letters received, Presbyterian Church, 1884, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

16 The Church at Home and Abroad, I, No. 6, (June, 1887), p. 515; Presbyterian Home Missions, XIV, No. 2, (Feb., 1885), p. 35.
the wife of the chief, but this did not solve all of his difficulties.\textsuperscript{17} The language problem was ever present as there was no interpreter available to help him. In order to overcome this handicap, he learned Spanish first and through that, the language of the Indians. By the end of the first year, he had learned enough of their language so as to ask and to give information concerning their studies and diseases.\textsuperscript{18} At the end of three years he could speak the Indian dialect fairly well and Spanish freely.\textsuperscript{19}

Conditions were not conducive to good learning on the part of the students, however, as the building which he had rented was not suited for school work and he was able to hold school only half a day because the children had little or nothing to wear. At other times, he had to close the school completely because of the cold rainy days and many of the children had to stay away from school from time to time in order to help earn a living.\textsuperscript{20} All of the time that he was conducting the day school, he was working and hoping for a boarding school so that the children could receive food and clothes and study continually.\textsuperscript{21} He

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{17} Presbyterian Home Missions, op. cit.
\item\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{19} The Church at Home and Abroad, op. cit.
\item\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.; Presbyterian Home Missions, op. cit.; XIV, No. 10, (Oct., 1885), p. 230.
\item\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
was very much in favor of the plan to build the school in Tucson when he discovered that the Board had leased the necessary property, because such a school would greatly enhance his work. With the decision to establish an Indian boarding school in Tucson, the idea of such a school at San Xavier was abandoned.

In spite of the discouragements and handicaps of his work, Hart conducted a religious program along with the educational and medical work and held a Sabbath school every Sunday. These added responsibilities both for the government and for the sick, increased his duties to such an extent that by 1887 he could not handle them in addition to his classroom where there was an average attendance of thirty pupils, and he was forced to ask for an assistant. This request was not granted as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs did not think that Hart had spent enough time attending to his government duties and asked that he be relieved of his post. The Board of Missions was then asked to choose his successor.


23 Howard to Atkins, Pima Agency, A. T. (Jul., 14, 1887), No. 19252, Letters received, Arizona, 1887, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

24 The Church at Home and Abroad, op. cit., p. 516.

25 The Church at Home and Abroad, I, No. 6, p. 516; Report of Board of Indian Commissioners, 1886, p. 30; 1887, p. 44.

The recommendation of Rev. Kendall of the Board of Home Missions was accepted and J. B. Douglas was named Hart's successor. In his letter of appointment to the office on September 21, 1887, some of the difficulties and hardships that the field offered:

Upon the recommendation of the Rev. Henry Kendall you are hereby appointed to the position of teacher in the Papago day school, Arizona, at a salary of $900 per annum. Your pay will commence when you enter upon duty. You should report to the Agent of the Pima Agency, Sacaton, Pima County, Arizona, as soon as possible. The expenses of reaching the school must be borne by yourself. The duties of the position require that you must live at the school, that you must keep the school open five days in each week. The teaching must be in the English language. Besides the necessary educational qualifications, a teacher among the Indians must be possessed of great patience and tact in order to get their confidence, without which all your efforts will be in vain. You must be prepared to forego many of the pleasant associations of civilization and be content to live among a people just emerging from barbarism and to put up with the inconveniences and disagreeable features surrounding the Indian modes of living...

Douglas arrived on the field in September and began work, but he proved a bad choice for the position for, by December, complaints regarding his work had reached the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He stated that the school, under his administration was of no benefit to

27 Ibid.

28 This was only part of his salary as the balance (unknown) and all expenses of the school were paid by the Presbyterian Church. Kendall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, New York, (Dec., 26, 1888), No. 51628, Letters received, Presbyterian Church, 1888, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

the Indians, that he lacked firmness and a knowledge of business and that he continually advertised the fact that he was a Republican, all of which made him obnoxious to the Indians. He further stated that if any further complaints were received, the office would be forced to remove him.\textsuperscript{30}

Strong as this rebuke was, it did not straighten Douglas out and one month later, the Commissioner telegraphed the agent to discharge Douglas and appoint someone in his place after he had received a telegram stating that Douglas had been arrested for drunkenness and giving whiskey to the Indians. It requested that someone be sent at once to replace him.\textsuperscript{31}

Thus, the Board of National Missions had lost its right of appointing a worker to the San Xavier station and the following worker was chosen by the agent to take charge of the government property. It was then not felt necessary to remove him for someone to be appointed by the Presbyterian Board.\textsuperscript{32}

Educational work came to a standstill during this time and when Rev. Billman became superintendent of the training school in Tucson in October, 1888, there was no teacher at San Xavier, although he found all

\begin{footnotes}
\item[30] Atkins to Kendall, Washington, D. C. (Dec., 16, 1887), \textit{op. cit.}
\item[31] Atkins to Kendall, Washington, D. C. (Jan., 17, 1888), Correspondence, Education, Vol XI, p. 304, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
\item[32] Atkins to Kendall, Washington, D. C. (Feb., 24, 1888), Correspondence, Education, Vol. XII, p. 231, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
\end{footnotes}
of the staff in favor of the Board appointing such a teacher. It was understood by those at the Tucson school that the Agent at Sacaton, C. M. Johnson, would aid the work by having the teacher appointed as sub-agent. It was on the strength of this that J. N. Wilson was transferred from Zuni, New Mexico, in November, 1888. Wilson had been employed by the Board since 1881 as a teacher among the Indians, for a time with the Western Shoshones and more lately among the Pueblos at Zuni. When appointed, he was the principal of an Academy at Morning Sun, Iowa; was a man of 50-55 years of age; had been a teacher most of his life and was a man of Christian character.

The school opened December 6, 1888, with forty pupils enrolled. The attendance was irregular, doubtless consequent somewhat on the condition of the building which was an inferior one belonging to the chief and quite inadequate.

There seemed to be some irregularity about Wilson's opening the school because the Commissioner of Indian Affairs knew nothing about it until Kendall told him in February, 1889. He wrote to the Agent:

"Please inform me by whose authority the school was opened and whether

35 Kendall to Albra, New York, (Jan., 26, 1889), No. 2489, Letters received, Presbyterian Church, 1889, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
36 Kendall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, New York, (Dec., 26, 1888), op. cit.
it should be kept open. This is, or was, a government school and I wish to be informed if there will be a sufficient attendance to warrant the outlay of money necessary to carry it on."

The misunderstanding had been caused by the fact that Johnson had not promised to appoint the teacher as sub-agent; but he later agreed to recommend to his superiors that the department authorize the appointment of a sub-agent at San Xavier and that the person thus appointed be one sent out by the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church. He also recommended an appropriation in a certain amount for the erection of a dwelling to be occupied by this missionary and sub-agent. The venture was of short duration, however, as the agents changed in August, 1888, with C. W. Crouse replacing Johnson and in the meantime, Wilson had resigned. Billman considered reopening the work, but as the Catholics had again opened up their work, it was considered inadvisable and the project was abandoned. This ended the only direct work carried on by the Presbyterian Church prior to 1900.

The need for work on this reservation continued, however, and Billman sought all means possible for aiding the Papagos. A few Papago


39 Ibid., p. 219.

40 Billman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, New York, (Dec., 26, 1888), op. cit.
children had entered the training school when it opened in Tucson and occasionally, Billman was able to make trips to the various reservation villages. In November 1890, he made such a journey with the special agent of the census bureau and on this trip he was much impressed with the evidences he saw of the training which the children had received in the school. The homes of the Tucson pupils were clean and neat, while those who had not had the advantages of school were neglected in appearance. In one village, regular Sunday services were conducted by boys who had learned to read in the school. 41

Billman was also interested in the economic development of the Papagos. From the time he first began to make his trips into the country, he urged the government to aid in the development of wells so that they could have a permanent source of water. Like the Pimas, conditions for agriculture were desperate because of the lack of water. He felt that the Papagos would have to be moved to some other region where they could obtain sufficient water, as living conditions on the reservation were impossible after even the simplest education. 42

In spite of the lack of workers on their reservation, the Papagos had learned of the Presbyterian work through their contact with the Pimas with whom they carried on a considerable trade, particularly in salt. Since they raised very little grain themselves, many Papagos would work for the Pimas during the wheat harvest and, while there, they would often attend the meetings which Cook held. Among those who were

41 Arizona Daily Star, Nov., 19, 1890, p. 4.

impressed with Cook and his preaching, was Pablo, the chief of the Papagos. His daughter, Jessie, was sent to the school at Sacaton and later transferred to the Tucson Indian Training School when it opened. She was largely responsible for securing pupils for the school in the early days and, when she left school, she soon developed into a leader in her own village of Fresnol which was one of the most important villages in the whole Papago country. Her leadership was due not only to the fact that she was the chief's daughter and that her husband, Juan Pedro, was also a leader, but to the fact that she had the ability and the desire to help her people. In 1900 she was secured as a Bible reader for Fresnol and nearby villages with a small salary paid by the Presbyterian Church in Uplands, California. She would read the Bible in the Papago language to her friends, explaining it as best she knew and on Sunday she would gather the children to tell them Bible stories. She continued in this work for three or four years.43

Whenever Jessie would visit the Tucson school, she always asked whether someone could not be secured to carry on a work among the Papagos similar to that which Cook was doing among the Pimas, and it was early seen that if the work were to succeed, and the total needs of the people reached, a missionary would have to be appointed to organize such a work. Shortly after he had come to Tucson, Billman wrote of this to the officers of the Board of Home missions, asking that someone

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43 Herndon, A Short History of the Papago Mission, pp. 1-9; interview with Mrs. Herndon, April 29, May 1, 5, 1942.
organize a work similar to that which Cook was doing among the Pimas. He stressed in particular that this worker would be able to send the most promising youngsters to the school and also keep in touch with them when they returned home, counselling and encouraging them and thus making the educational effort more worthwhile. 44

The first question to be decided in setting up such a work was location. There were some who thought that the best site for a mission would be near the center of the Papago country, which extended west from Tucson about one hundred miles and south from the Southern Pacific Railroad line to the Mexican border. It was decided, however, to center the work in a large village of Papago Indians, southwest of the city limits of Tucson for the reason that it was a trading center and contacts could be made with transients there that would prove valuable to subsequent trips to the reservation. This work was to be supervised by Rev. and Mrs. F. S. Herndon, who had begun work at the Tucson School in 1893, but who had resigned in order to carry on the new project. 45

The land on which this village was located was owned by a George Pusch and comprised thirty-four acres. Many Indians had squatted there and were living in old round houses or in homes made of brush, flattened tin cans, mud, canvas or anything else that would give


In 1903 Pusch had the land surveyed and on July 17, he gave four acres to the Board of Home Missions for missionary purposes. The remaining thirty acres were laid off in lots which the Indians were urged to buy and build permanent houses. Thirty families were soon established in homes they had built on their own lots. Jose Alvarez, who worked for the University of Arizona for many years, was the first to erect a good adobe house. The camp came to be called the Native American Addition to the City of Tucson.

With the location of headquarters settled, a plot of ground was given to the supervisor and on September 18, 1903, the Herndons moved to the new location. They lived here in a tent, until the manse was built. The first service was held on September 20 with ten Indians present and in the early days, the meetings were held either in the tent or in the shade of the adobe walls of the unfinished house in the process of erection.

With the Herndons, as they took over the work, had come Jose X. Pablo, a graduate of the Indian School in 1903. He was a grandson of Chief Pablo and a nephew of Jessie and while still a small boy, he had first heard of the Christian religion at Sacaton where his father, a

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46 Herndon, Miscellaneous papers.

47 Deeds of Real Estate, Pima County, Book 34, p. 635.

48 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, p. 8; Interview with Mrs. Herndon, April 29, 1942.

49 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, papers 1, 4.
policeman, went for his pay and where they heard Cook preach. 50

Appointed by the Board as helper and interpreter for Herndon, his
judgment came to be relied upon in carrying on the work. 51

Two years after the beginning of this work, a need was felt for
a chapel and plans for its erection were started on March 14, 1905,
when Herndon and T. C. Moffett met with thirty-four men of the village. 52

In August of that year, a lot was secured just east of the mission
property for the new church. 53 Moffett was largely responsible for
raising sufficient funds for the project and Mr. and Mrs. Ralph L.
Cutter of Brooklyn, New York, were the chief contributors. Because of

50 Herndon, Miscellaneous papers.

51 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, p. 5; Jose Pablo was one of the
outstanding men of his tribe. When he died in July, 1939, P. E. Chico
of the Papago Council said that although he had never been given the
title of chief, all felt that he was their chief. He was one of the
leading cattlemen of his tribe and represented his people at many
events. He was also an Elder in the Presbyterian Church, being ordained
to that office when the Papago Church was organized in Tucson, Arizona
Daily Star, July 15, 1939, p. 1. During his exploring trip in
Southern Arizona in 1906-1910, Carl Lumholtz was accompanied by Pablo
as an interpreter. Lumholtz, New Trails in Mexico, pp. 132-133. When
Commissioner Sells and Governor Hunt made their trip among the Papagos
in the summer of 1915, Pablo was selected as the best qualified man
to be interpreter and guide. Home Missions Monthly, XXX, No. 4,
(Feb., 1916), p. 85.

52 Herndon to friends, Tucson, (Mar., 15, 1905), Herndon Scrap-
book, No. 3.

53 Deeds of Real Estate, Pima County, Book 38, p. 64.
this and because Mr. Cutter was a descendant of John Eliot, the building was known as the John Eliot Memorial Chapel. The bell for it was donated by Mrs. Elizabeth Brown of Philadelphia; pews and the organ by friends in Bridgeville, Pennsylvania and the pulpit furniture by Moffett's mother. The first service was held April 1, 1906, in the unfinished chapel and a little over a month later, Cook and Herndon met with a group of thirty who desired to be organized into a church. Of these, sixteen came in by certificate from the Trinity Presbyterian Church of Tucson, where they had been members. Jose X. Pablo and Richard Hendricks were elected Elders and formal dedicatory services for the building were held on November 11, 1906.

The work of this church advanced very slowly and it was difficult to arouse much interest in it. Attendance was small and many of the older people were reluctant to join. Among the few who did was Chief Pablo and, because of his great respect for Cook, the latter was brought from Sacaton to baptize him when he was received into the church. The nucleus of the church was the group of former students of the Tucson school who were working in Tucson. Since only a very few of the Indians understood English, interpreters were necessary at the services, although the missionaries were attempting to learn the

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55 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, p. 30; Herndon to friends, Tucson, (April, 1908), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2; Session Minutes of the Papago Church of Tucson, pp. 1-4; Annual Report of Board of Home Missions, 1907, p. 34.

56 Herndon, A Short History of the Papago Mission, pp. 59-60.
language and, at the same time, teach some English to the children and older people as well. One unique part of the work was Mrs. Herndon's Sunday School Class for the children of the village. This was composed of Indian, Mexican and Chinese children. Since the latter group was the only one who could understand English, interpreters were used for the other two groups. 57

Another building was added to the mission station in 1907 when a small house was given to the Board of Home Missions by Mrs. Clara Kerk, (Miss Schreiner), a former teacher at the Indian School. This was across the street from the manse and was to be used as a helper's house. 58

Herndon was very much interested in making translations of parts of the Bible and he took lessons in Papago from his various helpers. He received considerable help from Cook, who had translated parts of the Bible. The work was difficult because there were many sounds in the Papago language, not represented by English letters and many English words with no Papago equivalent. He used a phonetic spelling as much as possible and where there were those sounds that did not have an exact English equivalent, he used letters that he felt most nearly represented the sound. This spelling underwent a continual change as he gained a better understanding of the sounds. With the help of John Hill, an Indian living in the village, he wrote translations of

57 Interview with Mrs. Herndon, May 5, 1942.

58 Deeds of Real Estate, Pima County, Book 43, p. 35; Interview with Mrs. Herndon, May 1, 1942.
of the Gospel of John and parts of Genesis, Matthew, Luke and Acts. Some work was done in translating hymns, but it was not too successful as it was difficult to fit the Papago words to music. At a camp meeting at Sacaton shortly after the first World War, Herndon read from these translations instead of using an interpreter and was told that he could be understood. Not long afterwards, while he was visiting at Goodyear, Arizona, his suitcase containing most of the translations was stolen and was never recovered. This was a serious set-back to the work as much time had been lost that was difficult to regain.

While most of the work was carried on in the village, one important phase of the yearly program was the semi-annual journey through the Papago country to visit the outlying villages. It was necessary to journey in seasons neither too dry nor too wet as the desert then proved treacherous. These journeys would cover from three to four hundred miles and would last about a month, during which time Mrs. Herndon was left in charge of the work. Prior to 1906, a team and wagon were rented for these occasions, but in this year the gift of funds enabled the purchase of a Studebaker wagon and a pair of ponies which were particularly well adapted to the desert. Preparations for these trips consisted of loading the wagon with a month's provisions.

59 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 4, p. 33; Herndon, Miscellaneous papers; Interview with Mrs. Herndon, May 4, 1942.

60 Herndon, A Short History of the Papago Mission, p. 30.

61 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, p. 17.
cooking utensils, clothing, bedding, horse feed, a small organ, a
"Vistor Talking Machine," which was always certain to attract a crowd
when it was played, some hymn books and a few gifts for the people. 62
At night the missionary generally slept in the open although occasion­
ally a chief would forbid the white man to remain in his village,
fearing that some harm might befall if this were allowed.

When the missionary and his helper would enter a village, they
would first secure the permission of the chief to stay and to hold a
meeting. If approval were given, the chief would shout from the top
of his house that there would be a meeting that evening and those
within hearing distance would then pass the word along so that all in
the village would know of the intended meeting. 63 The services would
be held either outside or in the "hi" and were quite simple. There
would be music from either the organ or the phonograph and then Herndon
would give a simple talk that would be interpreted by his Indian
helper. At the close of the meeting, the people usually asked all
kinds of questions and discussed many of their problems with the
missionary. One of the chief points of discussion, especially with the
older Indians, was the question regarding the shape of the earth. They
could not be convinced that the earth was round instead of a flat disc
around which the sun circled daily. 64

62 Ibid., p. 25.
64 Herndon, A Short History of the Papago Mission, p. 38;
Interview with Mrs. Herndon, April 29, 1942.
The first of these journeys was on January 29, 1904, when Herndon started out, accompanied by Jose Pablo. Upon their return in the latter part of February, they had visited seventeen villages and had held religious services in all except one. It was estimated that in the twenty-nine meetings conducted, nearly 460 persons had heard the messages. In spite of the fact that Indians did not show much interest in religious matters, Herndon felt greatly encouraged because of the willingness of the people to hear the gospel. In many of the villages, considerable time was spent in visiting the people in their homes. Visits were paid in such villages as: Fan-Tock, meaning Wolf-Sat; Yave Kirk; Standing Rock; Ali-Chuk Son, Little Tucson; Kaw-muchkJerwert, Grey Earth; and Salynockick, meaning Hanging Saddle.

Interested in his members, wherever they might be, Herndon went over to the Colorado River in 1906 where he conducted services for over 500 Papago Indians among whom were a number of his church members. They were working on the construction of the dam which, it was hoped, would get the Colorado River back into its original channel from where it had broken through to overflow the desert basin around the Salton Sea.

Discouraging as the work sometimes proved, the missionaries did not confine their activities entirely to religious work. As has been noted earlier, the government had done little to improve the living

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65 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, Paper 4. A complete account of this first journey is given in Scrapbook, No. 2, paper 5.

66 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, papers 2, 5; Scrapbook No. 5, paper 1.

67 Herndon to friends, Tucson, (Dec., 19, 1905), Herndon Scrapbook No. 2; Interview with Mrs. Herndon, May 4, 1942.
conditions in the village and the Indian Agent had told Herndon that this was the most corrupt of all the Papago villages. Drunkenness, fighting and gambling were very common through the village among both men and women and these conditions contributed to the extreme poverty that was prevalent there. With the appointment of an Indian policeman for the village in 1906, the opening of a small day school by the government in 1907, in addition to the work which the Herndons had been doing, conditions in the village began to improve. Health conditions were even worse than the moral conditions. Until 1904, there had been only one well to serve the needs of the whole camp. It was in that year that Jose Alvarez dug his own well and made the beginning of an effort to improve the deplorable sanitary conditions. These conditions resulted in much sickness and this might otherwise have been prevented. Medical treatment and attention was ignored as the advice of the medicine men was preferred. In 1904, nearly thirty children died in an epidemic of measles. The deaths were due largely to exposure and a lack of care. It took time to gain the confidence of the Indian, but once it was gained, the Indians turned for treatment

68 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, Miscellaneous papers before p. 1.

69 Ibid., Paper 3.

70 Herndon to friends, Tucson, (Dec., 9, 1905), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2; Interview with Mrs. Herndon, April 29, 1942.

71 Interview with Mrs. Herndon, May 4, 1942.

72 Herndon to friends, Tucson, (Sept., 1904), (Sept., 5, 1906), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 3.
to the missionaries, as the government had no hospital nor doctor available for them. H. W. Fenner, one of the leading doctors of Tucson donated his services without charge to this cause and often paid for the medicine himself. He secured a surgeon to perform the first operation for trachoma among these Indians. This operation took place on the dining table of the Presbyterian manse -- an operation agreed to after difficulty, but one which prevented a child from going blind. It was through Fenner's influence that the government finally appointed a doctor to care for the needs of the Papagos. But even after the appointment, the missionaries spent much of their time visiting the sick, taking food and medicine to those in need and nursing those who came to them.

Since the government had no field matron to supervise the Indian girls who were working in Tucson, Mrs. Herndon supervised in that capacity for many years. She placed those girls who desired to work as maids in homes and acted as counsellor in difficulties which arose between the girls and their employers. She also planned social occasions for them in their free time. These social times were only a small part of the entertainments of various kinds that were held for different groups of the Indians from the very beginning of the work.

73 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 3, p. 25; Interview with Mrs. Herndon, April 29, May 4, 1942.

74 Herndon to friends, Tucson, (Dec., 9, 1905), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2; Interview with Mrs. Herndon, May 4, 1942.

75 Herndon to Berger, Tucson (Oct., 14, 1908), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 3; Interview with Mrs. Herndon, April 29, 1942.
The first one was a Thanksgiving feast, held in 1903, shortly after the completion of the manse, with eighty Indians present. Once a week the manse was opened for a social time to any of the Indians who cared to attend and these gatherings soon became popular with large groups. The idea was liked so well that after several years, the Indians began to have small gatherings in their own homes. The leaders in these gatherings were former students of the Tucson School who had learned to take the initiative as leaders of their own people.

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76 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 3, Miscellaneous papers before p. 1; Interview with Mrs. Herndon, April 29, 1942.

77 Herndon, A Short History of the Papago Mission, pp. 15-16, 42; Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, Paper 4; Herndon, Miscellaneous papers; Interview with Mrs. Herndon, April 29, 1942.
CHAPTER V

THE PAPAGO WORK AFTER 1910

Until 1910, most of the work among the Papagos had centered around Tucson with work in the outlying districts playing a secondary role. There were no churches, no school and no organized work on the present reservation. But as the work in the village grew, the need of expansion was felt and in that year, the Home Missions Board agreed to support another missionary to the Papagos as it felt that Herndon was overworked and needed assistance. The location for the new station was to be Indian Oasis, or, as it is known today, Sells, and a chapel was also to be erected at San Miguel as the first steps in the expansion program. In August of that year Herndon, accompanied by F. C. Reid, general missionary, journeyed to Sells and San Miguel to select sites and the government was then asked to donate forty acres of land in each place for the mission. Approval for the use of the land for missionary purposes was received from Henry J. McQuigg, Superintendent of the San Xavier Indian School in January, 1911. And on May, 25, the Office

1 Minutes of Synod of New Mexico, 1910, p. 11. The Indian name means "Where - the turtle - was mired," but Joe Menenger, a trader, called it Indian Oasis. It was changed to Sells at the suggestion of one of the Indians in honor of Cato Sells, the first Indian Commissioner to visit the Papago country, and the man who greatly assisted in securing their reservation for the Papagos. Herndon Scrapbook, No. 4, p. 30. Throughout the thesis, it will be called Sells.

2 McQuigg to Reid, Tucson, (Jan., 2, 1911), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, p. 34.
of Indian Affairs notified the Board of Home Missions that land would be set apart for the missions at San Miguel and at Sells. 3

Adobe chapels were erected on each location and, since it was too expensive to get skilled labor from Tucson, Herndon and his Indian helper, John Hill, had to do most of the carpenter work, with some help from the other Indians. 4 Construction was started at Sells early in September, 1910, and was carried on six days a week, with Sundays being spent in evangelistic work. 5 The mill work was done in Tucson, hauled out in sections, and put together on the grounds and men were employed from Tucson to lay the adobe and to do the plastering. In the latter part of March, the first service was held in the uncompleted building.

Rev. and Mrs. George F. Wilson, the workers sent out by the Board to supervise the new field, arrived at Sells the first part of June, 1911, and set up their home in a tent with a dirt floor, as there was no manse. Lack of water was one of the first difficulties encountered and this was not solved until their first water came from the well which

3 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, p. 35.


Wilson had dug. Wilson also completed the carpenter work on the chapel during the early weeks of his employment and regular services were started in September of that year with the assistance of John Hill, who had formerly been Herndon's assistant.

With the completion of the chapel and the conducting of regular services, the attendance increased and many Indians from neighboring villages attended. To facilitate the work, the missionaries built a manse for the worker at Sells which was completed in March, 1913.

In the early days before there were enough Indian helpers to assist with the work, both Herndon and Wilson would spend one Sunday a month at Sells and the other Sundays in neighboring villages, if granted permission by the leader of the village. Generally, one of the Indian helpers, John Hill or Richard Lewis, would accompany them. Occasionally an evangelistic team, composed of a white leader and a group of Pima or Papago men would be organized to make trips to more distant outlying villages where church services were infrequent.

As the work continued to spread, in 1914, the Presbytery of

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7 Interview with Mrs. George Wilson, June 4, 1942; Wilson to Herndon, Indian Oasis, (Jan., 10, 18, 1911), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 3.

8 Herndon to Friends, Tucson, (Sept., 1911), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, pp. 42-45.

9 Interview with Mrs. Wilson, June 4, 1942; Herndon to Friends, Tucson, (Mar., 1913), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 3, Miscellaneous papers.

10 Interview with Mrs. Wilson, June 4, 1942; Herndon to Friends, Tucson, (Mar., 1913), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 3, Miscellaneous papers.

Phoenix decided that instead of having Wilson as Herndon's assistant, the work would be divided between the two men. Herndon was to have charge of the Northern Papago field, bounded on the Northeast by the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks, including the Tucson Papago village and extending as far South as the Northern end of the Coyote range and from thence Northwest to the Northern end of the Quijotoa range ending at villages near Casa Grande. The Southern field was to include the country South and West of the Northern field. This latter was assigned to Wilson and included the Sells and San Miguel areas.12

With the construction of chapels completed, the Presbytery of Phoenix appointed a committee composed of the Rev. James F. Record, Elder S. Y. Barkley, Wilson and Herndon to organize churches at Indian Oasis and San Miguel. The church at Sells was organized on July 12, 1914, with ten charter members, of whom six were received on confession of faith and were baptized; three infants were also baptized; one elder, Juan Pablo, was elected ordained, and installed. This was then known as the Indian Presbyterian Church of Indian Oasis.13 With the work of organization complete, Wilson took a leave of absence in 1918, to go into Y. M. C. A. work and resigned from the Indian field in 1919 to

12 Interview with Mrs. Wilson, June 4, 1942; Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book C, pp. 199-200.

13 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book C, pp. 199-200.

14 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book C, p. 209; Session Minutes of Sells Presbyterian Church, p. 1.
to enter Sunday School work.\footnote{15}{Interview with Mrs. Wilson, June 4, 1942; Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, p. 52.}

In that year the Presbytery of Phoenix decided to consolidate the three Papago fields into two -- the Sacaton field and the Indian Oasis field.\footnote{16}{Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, p. 52.} The Herndons were moved out to Sells to take charge of the entire Papago field and remained there five years. With the thought that headquarters in the village at Tucson were still ideal for the development of the work, they moved back to take up the work in 1924.\footnote{17}{Interview with Mrs. Herndon, July 28, 1942.} But the years of service had proved a strain on Herndon and, between November, 1924 and December, 1925, he was forced to take a year's leave of absence because of ill health. H. C. Hamann acted as pastor during this time.

Shortly after his return, the Herndons left the Papago work and were transferred to Tuba City, Arizona in 1926 where they remained until April, 1934 at which time Herndon was retired.\footnote{18}{Ibid.; Session Minutes of Sells Presbyterian Church, p. 30; Herndon Scrapbook, No. 4, p. 36; Herndon to Hamilton, Long Beach, California, (Jul., 16, 1947), in Hamilton personal file.}

After his transfer from the field, there was no white worker in charge of the Papago work for three years because of a $4,000 reduction in the budget for the Pima, Papago and Cook Bible School work. During this time, B. Wrenn Webb, Synodical Executive, gave general
supervision to the work in addition to his other duties, and at last on June 1, 1923, through gifts from special sources and a budget special from the Oil City, Pennsylvania, Presbyterian Church, Rev. H. B. Gwinn began full-time work on the reservation. He stayed until September, 1930. The field was vacant again until March, 1932, when William Peters, one of the Indian helpers, was made pastor of the Sells church and he was succeeded by Panjo Pablo, another Pima preacher, in September, 1935. In the fall of 1937, the Elders' Association voted to have a white man take charge of the work and Rev. Stephen Crowell was assigned to that position. However, he had difficulty in adjusting himself to work with the Indians, and in the fall of 1938, he left the field. For the next few years, there was again no white supervisor on the field and the Indian preachers were under the immediate supervision of Dr. Girton, who was in charge of the Tucson school. On February 15, 1943, Rev. William C. Isett came from the

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19 Session Minutes of San Miguel Presbyterian Church, pp. 29-30.

20 Session Minutes of Sells Presbyterian Church, p. 35; Session Minutes of San Miguel Presbyterian Church, p. 29; Session Minutes of Yamori Presbyterian Church, p. 17; Minutes of Synod of Arizona, 1929, pp. 25, 30, 37.

21 Session Minutes of Sells Presbyterian Church, pp. 52, 56.

22 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book E, p. 206. The following extract from Session Minutes of Sells Presbyterian Church, pp. 62-63 helps to explain Crowell's troubles. "The second question discussed: Will the Indian Oasis Church Elders accept Rev. S. Crowell to moderate their session meetings. After the Elders of the said church brought up certain reasons, they decided that Rev. Pancho Pablo will keep moderating their session until some time. Reasons: Rev. S. Crowell seems not to have enough experience in church work, too hasty.
First Presbyterian Church of Peoria, Arizona, to assume the leadership of this field and continues at this writing.  

In spite of the setback of funds and workers, the Sells church progressed and in 1935, in addition to the regular Sunday preaching services two new features were added to the religious program of the mission. One was a vacation Bible school, with thirty-four Indian and fifteen white children in attendance the first summer, and weekday Bible classes which were started in the government school. These activities provided further contacts with villages as far distant as twenty-five miles.

Distance prevented the construction of the chapel at San Miguel at the same time as the one at Sells and this building program was not begun until September, 1911. However, the people were just as eager for schools and churches as were their neighbors and Herndon had found them quite progressive in their hopes for the future. They had been among the first to send their children to school when schools were not popular among many of the Indians, and this foundation proved of value in some things, at times attempts to overrule their decision. Therefore, the elders are a little uncertain at his management."


24 Minutes of General Assembly, 1936, p. 23.

to the beginning work. By August, 1914, the church at San Miguel was felt sufficiently strong to be organized into a regular church and the same committee that had organized the church at Sells, (Record, Wilson, Herndon and Barkley) was assigned to the task. On November 16, 1914, the Church of San Miguel was organized with fourteen members, five on confession of faith and nine by letter; five adults and three children were baptized; an elder was elected and installed.

Interest and visits of the missionaries from San Miguel to outlying villages led to the organization of churches at Topawa and at Vamori. Efforts to organize the Topawa church were started in August, 1914, and completed on December 16, 1915. Eleven members were received, eight on confession of their faith and two elders were chosen. Rev. Cory preached the sermon and gave the charge to the people. In April, 1915, Presbytery asked the Board of Home Missions to grant $650 for a new chapel at Vamori and this church was organized on October 8, 1919.

Rev. Wilson preached the sermon and Rev. Johnson gave the charge. Twenty-six people who had requested the organization presented certificates from other churches and became charter members. Three elders were

26 Ibid.
27 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book C, p. 209.
28 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book C, p. 212.
29 Session Minutes of Topawa Presbyterian Church, p. 1; Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book C, p. 243.
30 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book C, p. 214.
elected and ordained: Jose Marcho, Jose Maria Hendricks and Matias Hendricks. The edifice itself stood unfinished for several years, because of the lack of a bell, without which the people could not be summoned to worship. This lack was supplied in September, 1922, when a bell was donated by Dr. B. E. Prugh, a brother to Mrs. Herndon.

On May 10, 1923, dedicatory services were held with Herndon, Roy H. Wollam, George M. Bourke, M. L. Girton and Joaquin Lopez, the Papago pastor, participating.

These four centers of organized work are the chief centers of the Presbyterian work among the Papagoos, but are not the only places where missionary activity is carried on. At Ajo a work was begun in 1916 after a missionary trip that Herndon, Dirk Lay and three Indians, Crouse Perkins, James Ellis, and Herbert Grant, took to that country. They held meetings in eight different villages at that time. This contact was followed up by Herbert Grant, who continued here until 1922.

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31 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, p. 68; Session Minutes of Vamori Presbyterian Church, p. 1; Home Missions Monthly, XXXIV, No. 4, (Feb., 1920), p. 88.

32 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, p. 46.

33 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 2, p. 41.

34 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 4, paper 1.

35 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book D, p. 54; interview with Herbert Grant, June 19, 1942.
When he left the field, it was unoccupied for a number of years and at present, Jose T. Lewis has been holding services, both at Ajo, in a chapel erected by the mining officials, and at Darby Wells, a few miles away, in a small chapel erected by the people. The average attendance in each place is about twenty. 36

Work has also been carried on for several years at Santa Rosa. It was started in 1915 when a Pima, Narcisse Porter, volunteered to move to Santa Rosa with his family in order to organize a work there. He built his own house, which became his headquarters and where Sunday services were held. During the week he would go out to the surrounding villages and conduct meetings. Lack of funds necessitated the giving up of this work after five years. 37 Six years later, another Pima, Panjo Pablo, was sent here and with renewed activity and interest, negotiations were started in the fall of 1929 to secure buildings in which to hold meetings. A year later, the Presbyterian Church secured property from a trader, H. W. Smith, for the sum of $750 and this enabled a permanent work to be established. Among those who have served at this mission station are: William Peters, Luke Thompson, Abraham Manual and Clark Moore. Like the work at Ajo and Darby Wells, Santa Rosa is under the jurisdiction of the Sells Church. 38


37 Interview with Narcisse Porter, June 6, 1942; Herndon Scrapbook, No. 4, papers 2 and 3; Home Missions Monthly, XXX, No. 4, (Feb., 1916), p. 86.

38 Interview with Rev. Isett, June 21, 1947; Webb to Keeler, Tucson (Aug., 20, 1929), in Southern Arizona Presbytery, Papago field,
During the time that the reservation churches were in the process of being established, the church in the village at Tucson had experienced many changes. It was closed for three months because of the influenza epidemic in 1918 and then in 1919 it was left in charge of an Indian worker. In 1926, Rev. Webb was put in charge of this work when the Herndons left the field and he served for a short time after which Rev. J. R. Fitzgerald became pastor of the church. He was not new to the work as he had conducted occasional services since 1926. Working with the regular missionaries, Mrs. Eleanor Struthers and Jose Lewis have been the helpers in the work. Some years the church prospered and then it would slump until in 1933 new interest seemed to be taken by the Indians in the services, for the church attendance almost doubled, the offerings were three times as great and, for the first time in the history of the church, the young people's society functioned all summer.

In 1934 an emergency nursery school was started in the church with ERA funds and was conducted in cooperation with the Tucson welfare board.

39 Interview with Mrs. Herndon, July 28, 1942.

40 Interview with Mr. Fitzgerald, July 5, 1942; Session Minutes of Tucson Papago Church.

41 Minutes of General Assembly, 1934, p. 33.
and school superintendent. The Fitzgeralds were in charge of this project and Mrs. Fitzgerald conducted two parent education classes for the Indian and Spanish-speaking groups. Lunches were furnished by the Welfare Board and games and material for handwork were given by the people of Tucson. This helped to increase the church attendance and also that of the Sunday School Department. This work filled a great need in the life of the community and helped to raise the standards of living.

Therefore, it was a great loss when, on February 3, 1937, fire destroyed so much of the church building that it could no longer be used for the services, which were then held in the manse. The Presbytery which met in April, 1937, decided to abandon the Papago Church with the recommendation that the property be sold and the money received be placed with the insurance money to build on the Papago reservation where there was need. This recommendation was not carried out because of a reversionary clause in the deed of the manse property, and because the Indians protested it so vigorously. They felt that the church was an asset to their community and they wanted it restored. This was difficult with no minister in charge and, in response to a plea for help, the students from the Tucson school began to help

42 Minutes of General Assembly, 1935, p. 33; interview with Mr. Fitzgerald, July 5, 1942.

43 Interview with Mr. Fitzgerald, July 5, 1942.

44 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book E, p. 172.
with the Sunday services in the fall of 1937. Mrs. Struthers carried on visitation work in an effort to hold together the Presbyterian families living there. Even after the Fitz与中国 the Fitzgeralds left in July, 1938, the students and Mrs. Struthers carried on. But in the meantime, many of the Indians had left the village and returned to the reservation and the 1939 meeting of the Presbyterian of Phoenix recommended that since there were so many Spanish-speaking folks in the Tucson village, that a Spanish-speaking work be started, using the Board properties. Rev. S. D. Athens, a Methodist minister, was given permission to live in the Presbyterian manse if he would attempt to hold together the Indian work in the village while carrying on his own Mexican work. The population in the village continued to decrease until the war years when several racial groups began to increase and a renewed interest was taken in the Church by many of these groups. To fill this new need, the War Service Commission, appointed Rev. Clovis Snyder to organize this work on January 15, 1943. He stayed only until July, 1944 and Rev. Donald Keith took over this war service work which included the Indian village. He was assisted from December, 1944 to

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45 Ibid., p. 207; interview with Dr. Girton, July 5, 1942.

46 Interview with Dr. Girton, July 5, 1942; with Mr. Fitzgerald, July 5, 1942.

47 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book E, p. 252.


49 Interview with Mr. Clovis Snyder, Aug., 5, 1947.
July, 1945 by Rev. David Searfoss and in October, 1945, Keith also left. Various groups from Trinity Church in Tucson and from the Indian School then helped in the different phases of the work through this period of change until in December, 1945, Rev. Peter V. Samano from the House of Neighborly Service, Bisbee, Arizona, assumed the responsibility of the work. When he arrived, services were still being held in the manse.

It was not until over a year later that it was publicly announced that the Board of National Missions had approved a grant of $5,000 from the Charles K. Smith Fund, which would enable the church to be rebuilt. With other groups than the Papagos a part of the Church now, it was necessary to rename it and at one of its first session meetings, the session of the church approved the name of Southside Presbyterian Church as suggested by the Presbytery of Southern Arizona on February 7, 1946.

Following a week of special activities, the Southside Presbyterian Church was formally dedicated on January 26, 1947. There are two units to the building, Namely, the Charles K. Smith Memorial Chapel and the Church School and Parish unit. This latter unit was the gift of the

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50 Minutes of Presbytery of Southern Arizona, Roll of Ministers.


53 Session Minutes of Tucson Papago Church, p. 79.

54 Minutes of Presbytery of Southern Arizona, p. 284; Session Minutes of Southside Presbyterian Church, p. 85.
Board of National Missions. Furnishings were provided, for the most part, by different groups of Trinity Church. At the present time, the Church is a growing concern and a credit to the community.

Important as this religious work was considered, education was felt to be an important supplement, and this phase of development has not been neglected among the Papagos. As early as 1912, Miss Sara H. Chapin was transferred from work among the Omaha Indians to start a school at Sells. The classes were conducted in the chapel and the first year, over forty children were enrolled.

With the school at Sells established, heed was given to the many requests from the people of San Miguel for the establishment of a school in their village. They wanted particularly a school for the smaller children as they wished to keep them at home, instead of sending them to a boarding school. The requests were granted and on October 26, 1914, a day school and community center were established. Miss Chapin was transferred from the Sells school, which was then closed, to serve as community worker and Miss Elizabeth T. Wolfe was transferred from the school in Tucson as teacher. School opened on November 2, with

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55 This information was taken from a special dedication bulletin of the Southside Presbyterian Church in Hamilton personal file.

56 Herndon to Friends, Tucson, (Mar., 1913), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 3, Miscellaneous papers; Chapin to Hamilton, Newburgh, Ind., (May 4, 1942), in Hamilton personal file.


58 Chapin to Hamilton, op. cit.
fifteen pupils enrolled and the following year, a night school was opened for interested parents. After two years of service, disturbances on the Mexican border caused some concern for the safety of these two missionaries. At the request of a telegram sent from the Superintendent of schools for the Women's Board, Mr. Girton, Superintendent of the Tucson Indian School, went out to the reservation to investigate. Sooner than have the two women withdrawn, former pupils and friends promised to do all they could to help protect them. As a result of this, the women were allowed to stay on at San Miguel. In the winter of 1917, Miss Chapin resigned because of ill health and Miss Bertha O. Ross took over her work and stayed until 1919 when Miss Birdie Gilgert was appointed as community worker.

Other communities near San Miguel also wanted day schools opened for their children. One of these was Topawa. Miss Wolfe went there on December 27, 1919, to see about the organization of a small school. Twenty-five children presented themselves but, since no teacher could be secured at that time, the project was postponed. In January, 1921, a school was opened in Topawa with Margaret Puella, an educated rapago

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62 Wolfe, op. cit.

63 Wolfe to Allaben, Sells, (Dec., 26, 30, 1919), Letter file 1.
girl, as teacher. Lack of equipment made the teaching difficult, however, and when a lack of water threatened the village in February, the school was closed. It was reopened in September with thirteen pupils and three grades in operation. Johnson Darrell, a Pima graduate of the Cook Bible School, was appointed teacher. In the years following the opening of this school, an increasing number of children were sent to the government schools and it became increasingly difficult to secure students. The Board agreed to keep the school open for as few as eleven students, but this number could not be found and in 1926, the school was closed.

Enrollment of students at the San Miguel school, on the other hand, has been maintained at between twenty and twenty-five. The majority of these live in San Miguel with a few coming from near-by villages and, at times, some from Mexico. The school takes the students through the fourth grade from whence they are eligible to enter the Tucson Indian School.

The religious and education work at San Miguel is supplemented by community work which consists of a great many types of activities and includes twelve different villages. These activities consist of visiting and caring for the sick, visiting in the homes, holding funeral services, conducting cooking and sewing classes, giving parties for the young people, helping government officials with health campaigns, holding

64 Wolfe, op. cit.; Interview with Dr. Girton, July 5, 1942; Home Missions Monthly, XXXV, No. 4, (Feb., 1921), p. 92; XXXVI, No. 4, (Feb., 1922), p. 91; Interview with Miss Gilgert, June 18, 1942.

65 Wolfe, op. cit.; Interview with Miss Gilgert, June 18, 1942.
religious meetings in isolated villages, conducting daily vacation
Bible schools, teaching religious education classes in the government
schools at Sells, Vamori and Chulic, working to improve the homes and
giving instruction in the care of infants. This work grew under the
direction of Miss Gilgert who served as community worker from 1919 to
1944. Miss Wolfe retired from the San Miguel station in January, 1940,
and following her retirement, she moved to Sells where she gave assis-
tance when necessary until her death on August 14, 1942. Since the
retirement of Miss Wolfe, Miss Gilgert was appointed executive and the
following teachers served under her: Mrs. Ann Cochrane, Miss Barbara
North, Miss Thelma Glenn and Miss Ruth McNaughton. During the year
1943, Miss Gilgert was responsible for both the school work and the
community work until her resignation in September, 1944. Miss Margaret
J. Bielby was appointed the new executive and Miss Ruth Rust, the new
teacher.

From its beginning, the San Miguel school had met in the church
building which was far from a satisfactory arrangement. There had long
been felt the need of a separate school building, but it was not until
February, 1946, that work on this was begun. The actual construction was

66 Monthly reports of Community Worker, San Miguel, Oct., 1920-
Dec., 1940; Interview with Miss Gilgert, June 18, 1942; Home Missions
Monthly, XXXV, No. 11, (Oct., 1921), p. 252; Annual Report of San
Miguel Mission, 1927.

67 Monthly reports of Community Worker, San Miguel, Oct., 1920-
Dec., 1940; Interview with Miss Gilgert, June 18, 1942; Wolfe, op. cit.

68 Bielby to Hamilton, San Miguel, Sells, P. O., Arizona, (Aug.,
started on March, 1947, under the direction of Mr. Ben Bost, an architectural engineer from Rock Island, Illinois, who donated his time and a considerable sum of money for the project. Classes were first held in the new building on February 6, 1948.

As on the Pima reservation, a very important event for the Papago Presbyterian is the annual camp meeting which was first started in 1910 or 1911. These meetings, which last for four or five days each fall, are under the supervision of the Elders' Association which fixes the dates, chooses the speakers, the assessment each church is to contribute toward expenses. Until 1925, the camp meetings were alternated between Sells, San Miguel, Topawa and Vamori churches, but in that year it was decided to hold them each year at Sells because of the better facilities for securing supplies there. Papagos from all over the reservation gather for the occasion, and many Pimas come down to join in the services which afford a time of sociability as well as instruction.

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69 Ibid.; Interview with Mr. Poncel, Aug., 4, 1947.


71 Interview with Mrs. Herndon, July 28, 1942.

72 Session Minutes of San Miguel Church, p. 47.

73 Interview with Miss Gilgert, June 18, 1942; Monthly Reports of Community Worker, op. cit.

74 Home Missions Monthly, XXXI, No. 4, (Feb., 1817), p. 88; XXXII, No. 4, (Feb., 1918), p. 87.
At the meeting of the Presbytery of Southern Arizona on April 10, 1946, it was recommended that Joaquin Lopes be ordained as he had served as a Papago lay worker at the Vamori Church for nearly twenty-five years. The following October, arrangements were made for the ordination and on Sunday afternoon, February 2, 1947, the service was held at the Vamori Church at which time Lopes became the first ordained Papago minister. The Rev. Esau Joseph, a Pima Indian, delivered the sermon; Dr. M. L. Girton gave the charge and prayer of ordination; Rev. Warner Taylor presided. 75 This was a step forward as the native helpers had all been unordained men.

During these years, while the Presbyterian work was being launched, a far greater problem had arisen than community interests or village development. It was the problem of land. For many years the only reservation which the Papagos had was the small one at San Xavier, established in 1874 at which time title was given and the Papagos were in danger of encroachment from the white men who tried to drive the Indians from the best of the grazing land. 76 The Indians themselves were anxious for the establishment of a reservation, but the policy of the government was to discontinue present ones without making additional reservations. 77 The Indian Rights Association was interested in the welfare of the Papagos

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76 Executive Orders relating to Indian Reservations from May 14, 1855, to July 1, 1912, p. 23.

77 Herndon Scrapbook in Pioneer Historical Society, Tucson, pp. 4, 5.
through the efforts of the Board of Home Missions and, in turn, the Association tried to interest the government in establishing a reservation. The need for this action was becoming paramount as local papers were advertising the rich farming land of the Indian country and traffic was being opened up.

In the year 1910, several tried unsuccessfully to secure land through the village chiefs. In that year the government sent an allotting agent, Ralph Aspaas, to draw up a plan for giving the land to the Indians. Herndon accompanied him on many of his trips to the reservation, doing all that he could to assist him in his dealings with the Indians. Aspaas finished his work in September, 1913, but the allotments were not approved by the land office in Phoenix. When this plan failed, the Indian Right's Association and Herndon began agitation to have a reservation created for the Papagos. In August, 1916, Herndon informed Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that the Mexicans were disputing the rights of the Indians to the land and were even fencing in some of


79 Herndon Scrapbook in Pioneer Historical Society, pp. 15-16.


81 Interview with Mrs. Herndon, July 28, 1942; Herndon Scrapbook in Pioneer Historical Society, pp. 26-27, 49.
the very ranches taken up by the Indians. Because of the revolution in Mexico, many cattlemen wanted the protection of our government and had brought their herds across the border establishing ranches near Tecolote and San Miguel. Altogether six such ranches had been established in the Papago country which would have been enough, when well-stocked, to use all of the grazing land since so much of the country was mountainous or barren wastes. It was established that it would require on the average of something like fifty acres of such land for the pasturage of each head of cattle.  

The Presbytery of Phoenix, meeting at Sacaton, Arizona, in April, 1915, sent a resolution to Commissioner Sells expressing the hope that something would be done to save the lands and homes of the Papagos who had been dependent upon the resources derived from these lands for generations. Since they had been in the possession of the Papagos for some four hundred years, the Presbyterians thought they should be conserved and title secured for the Indians.  

In another letter to Commissioner Sells, Herndon refuted some statements that Senator Smith of Arizona had made to the effect that the Papagos had all of the land they needed on the existing reservation. Herndon stated that of the 69,269 acres of the San Xavier Reservation, only 3,000 were tillable, the rest being good only for grazing. Six


83 Minutes of Presbytery of Phoenix, Book C, p. 223.
to seven hundred Indians had four or five acres of agricultural land per person and that 5,000 Papagos who lived on the public domain, had only half an acre of farming land and about ten acres of grazing land apiece.84

During the long period of delay, many of the Papagos became quite bitter at the lack of help the government was giving them. The Indians boasted that they had never killed a white man, but instead had been of help to the pioneers against the Apaches. They now felt that it would have been better for them if they had taken up arms against the whites as then the government would have been forced to recognize their claims.85

In the fall of 1915, Sells visited Arizona and held a conference at Indian Oasis the result of which was the decision that a reservation of 3,100,000 acres should be established. On January 14, 1916, the Executive order was signed by President Wilson creating it.86

The announcement of the establishment of their reservation, brought great protest and pressure was brought to bear to annul the act and have the region opened for homesteading. Almost all of the commercial organizations in southern Arizona protested and both houses of the State legislature sent overtures to Washington condemning the action of the President.87 The local paper claimed the interests of

84 Herndon to Sells, Tucson (No date), op. cit.
85 Herndon to Sells, Tucson, (No date), Herndon Scrapbook, No. 4, pp. 29-30; Herndon Scrapbook in Pioneer Historical Society, p. 56.
87 Girton to friends, Tucson, (Jan., 16, 1917), Letter File I.
the people and the cattlemen had not been considered. Charges of disloyalty were hurled at Herndon who was accused of being disloyal and unworthy as a citizen for wanting to steal the great tract of land from Pima county.

Herndon and two native workers were called east on December 30, 1916, for hearings on the subject held January 19, 1917, before Secretary of the Interior, Franklin Lane. At the hearing a committee representing the Chamber of Commerce of Tucson protested, demanding the revocation or material reduction of the reservation, but Cato Sells refuted their statements and justified the action of the government. At another meeting held on January 24, it was announced that minerals could be developed on the reservation and that roads could be built, but that the reservation would not be decreased. On February 1, 1917, another Executive Order was signed making these changes to the order of a year previous.

Thus ended the struggle of another tribe to that which rights claimed as theirs.

89 Interview with Mrs. Herndon, Jul., 28, 1942.
91 Herndon Scrapbook in Pioneer Historical Society, pp. 60-61.
92 Ibid.
Closely connected with the religious and educational work on the Pima and Papago Reservations is the founding of the Indian Industrial Boarding School at Tucson. In his early work Cook had felt that if these Indians were to be civilized there was a need for a school to supplement his work and as early as 1883, the government had asked the Presbyterians to open a boarding school among the Pimas similar to the one sponsored in Albuquerque. In accordance with this request, the Women's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church instructed its missionary, Dr. T. C. Kirkwood to go to Tucson in 1886, to make plans for the establishment of such a school. He was joined by Mr. Charles E. Walker who acted as the Board's agent in securing a suitable

1 Kendall to Price, New York, (May 11, 1883), No. 8574, Letters received, Arizona, 1883, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

2 Paper 13, Historical files of Tucson Indian School. The following letter from the Arizona Daily Star of August 27, 1886, p. 4, describes Dr. Kirkwood's request for the land for the school:

August 24, 1886

"A letter to the mayor and common council of Tucson: Your petitioner would respectfully represent that he is the duly accredited agent of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in his capacity of superintendent of its interests in the state of Colorado and the territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Wyoming, and that his mission to this territory at this time is the establishment of an Industrial school for the benefit of the Pima and Papago Indians, such as the Board of Home Missions has conducted at different places in the Indian territory, at the Sisson Agency of the Sioux in Dakota and at Albuquerque among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico."
site and also as superintendent.

In December of that year, Walker secured a lease from the City of Tucson through its mayor, George Rayfield and its clerk, Charles H. Meyer, for all of blocks 43, 44, 45, and 46 which is the area bounded by

Looking with favor upon Tucson as a place of location for the school, and having several propositions from persons and places elsewhere, I have felt impelled to ask your honorable body to aid us in this work by the grant or extended lease of land for the site of such school. We propose if you grant this to buy other lands for farming operations and to erect buildings suitable for the accommodations of from 60 - 200 children. These children are to be clothed, fed, taught the common English branches, and trained in some of the mechanical arts and the better methods of agriculture. There will be a considerable outlay of buildings the first year to be followed with additions as necessity shall require.

In connection with others interested in this matter, the undersigned has viewed with favor in the city south of the S. F. Railroad, blocks 43, 44 and 46 with the positions of the streets included within the extended exterior boundaries, making an amount of land not exceeding 15 A. not more than sufficient for buildings and playground and to keep our pupils from disturbing our neighbors.

Representing the Board, I may say we ask this because it would be a benefit to us. It would secure the location of our institution at a less cost. It would give us land with a good title upon which to build a permanent structure and we feel still more that you and the citizens would take a greater interest in our work after contributing to its location.

We ask this because we believe the institution would more than repay every year of its continuance among you the small amount you are asked to grant us.

We propose to send among you men and women who would become good citizens and add to the attraction of your city socially.

We propose to pay out in the community, if we are reasonably successful, and prospects are good, some 10-15 and ultimately $20,000 dollars annually, no part of which will ever be contributed by your citizens.

We know from our experience elsewhere, that the incidental benefits to hotels and liverymen accruing from our frequent visitors will be no small amount.

Besides all this, there is the added and mutual benefit, in a public way on our part of having so goodly a city as Tucson known as our location and on your part of being known as the seat of a school loved and honored among all its promoters, and they are found in all parts of the U. S.

Very Respectfully,
T. C. Kirkwood
First and Third Avenues on the East and West and by Third and Fifth Streets on the North and South. By the terms of the lease, which went into effect on January 1, 1887, and which was to last for ninety-nine years with the privilege of renewal at the end of that time, the lessee paid one dollar per year, agreed to place buildings and improvements to the value of $6,000 on the land and, at the expiration of the lease, all buildings which had been erected could be removed if it were so desired.

Since this was to be an industrial school, a ranch was necessary to meet the needs of these Indians since they were predominately an agricultural people. This was provided on January 31, 1887, when the Walkers sold to the Board of Home Missions 42 acres of land for the purchase price of $2,000. This land was on Hospital Road, on lot thirteen, section two, and lots three, eleven and twelve, section eleven, Township fourteen S. Range Thirteen E., Gila and Salt River Meridian, and was on the west bank of the Santa Cruz River about a mile from the school site.

The following fall Miss Mary J. Whittaker was sent out to make arrangements for opening the school for which she rented an old public school building which was located on the northwest corner of Sixth

3 Leases, Pima County, Book 2, pp. 297-300.
4 Deeds of Real Estate, Pima County, Book 14, pp. 203-204.
5 Ibid., Book 13, pp. 765-768.
Avenue and Congress Street in Tucson and fitted it up for use. In December, 1887, the government, because of insufficient information, raised some objection to having the new school in Tucson. But these objections were overruled by the Board of Home Missions which assured the government of the stability of its backing and the purpose of its work. It also gave assurance as to the completeness of the project and reported that the building could accommodate forty pupils and six teachers, was 219 feet long, 18 feet wide, with an additional room 12 feet by 16 feet, and with a temporary laundry in the back. Some school supplies were on hand and more were on the way, including an organ, a sewing machine, single iron beds, dormitory and dining room furniture, school books, etc. The government was also informed that the school had over 40 acres of land under first water rights just outside Tucson to be used for agriculture; that six workers were under commission including an acting superintendent, two teachers, a matron, assistant matron, and a farmer. The Board stated further that the city council of Tucson had leased about fifteen acres of land within city limits for new school buildings for 99 years, that foundation work on the $8,000 building was then being pushed; that the well had been dug and that occupancy was expected by the fall term. No further obstacles

6 Home Missions Monthly, II, No. 2, (Dec., 1887), p. 26; Interview with Mr. C. E. Rose. This was the first building erected entirely for school purposes in Tucson. For a sketch of building see Appendix D.

7 Kendall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, New York, (Dec., 22, 1887), No. 33903, Letters received, Arizona 1887, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

8 Ibid.
were put in the way of the establishment of the school.

With temporary accommodations secured, the next problem was to secure the pupils. Miss Whittaker, travelling by buckboard, went out to the Pima reservation to some of the villages and selected the children from the villages. School was then able to open on January 3, 1888, when Colonel Elmer Howard, the agent at Sacaton, brought ten of the children as the first enrollees of the industrial school for Indian boys and girls. The local paper reported the opening of school with a favorable account.

When the first quarterly report was made out on March 31, the records showed that thirty-one pupils had been enrolled with one sent home for misconduct and this number remained until school was dismissed on June 30. Before the school year in the temporary building had closed, substantial progress had been made on the permanent structures and it was hoped that they would be ready for the opening of the second school year two months later.

Although not quite complete, the new building was occupied when school did open on September 10, with fifty-four pupils present. On October 19, the first superintendent, Rev. Howard A. Billman, arrived from Cincinnati, Ohio, where he had been a pastor for seven years. The need of a milder climate for his health enabled him to accept an

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9 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, p. 13.


appointment by the Women's Board as Superintendent of their Tucson school.\textsuperscript{12} Walker, who had been acting superintendent, took charge of all financial matters then until the end of October when Billman took over the management of the school.\textsuperscript{13}

From the time of his arrival, Billman took a very definite interest in his young wards and endeavored to do all that he could to better their condition. He was quite active in their community affairs and preached from time to time in the various reservation churches. His ability as a teacher and as a director, but even more than that, as a man of business talent, caused Governor Hughes to appoint him regent of the territorial university in December, 1894.\textsuperscript{14} Later, when Dr. Theodore B. Comstock resigned as president of the University on August 20, 1895, Billman succeeded him in this office.\textsuperscript{15} Speaking editorially, the Star stated that this business talent was perhaps the strongest argument in his favor and that his strength and fitness for the position was increased by his wide personal popularity.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.; Paper 18, Historical files of Tucson Indian School; Arizona Daily Star, Aug., 22, 1895, p. 4.


\textsuperscript{14} Arizona Daily Star, Dec., 22, 1894, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., Aug., 21, 1895, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., Aug., 22, 1895, p. 2.
Rev. Frazier S. Herndon was assigned to fill the vacancy left by Billman. He had come to Tucson in 1893, following his graduation from Park College, Parkville, Missouri, and was serving as Bible teacher and disciplinarian in the Indian school at the time of his appointment. His ambition had been to attend law school and he accepted work in the Indian school originally in order to earn money for this purpose. Interest in the work and welfare of the Indians, especially the Papagos, caused him to decide to devote his life in serving them. From 1895 until 1903, he remained at the school, but then felt that he was needed in organizing work on the reservation whereupon he resigned as superintendent of the Tucson school.

His successor was Rev. Haddington G. Brown, who took over the work in September, 1903. He had served under the Women's Board among the Creek Indians in the Indian Territory and among the Mormons in Utah, before coming to the Tucson field. To him was to fall the great task of moving the school from its location in town to the site it now occupies south of town.

In the meantime, the question of financial support was raised as the Presbyterian Church went on record in 1892 as opposing the government appropriation of money for sectarian schools and recommended that

17 Interview with Mrs. Herndon, Feb., 27, 1942; Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, p. 27.

it cease. This meant that the contract system by which the Government gave assistance to the schools would be discontinued. By this system, those denominations which were interested in Indian education, entered into formal contracts with the government, with the latter providing $31.25 per pupil, per quarter, computed on the basis of the average attendance of pupils in the particular quarter. In the early nineteenth century most schools among the Indians were carried on by religious groups. It was not until 1870 that the government began in earnest to provide educational facilities for the Indian. In the same year, formal contracts were made with those denominations which were interested in Indian education. Schools, thus aided, came to be called contract schools. About 1892, there developed a widespread agitation against extending government aid to sectarian schools. The Commissioner did not think it a wise policy to use public funds for sectarian purposes. Also, it was difficult to exercise supervision over such schools without causing offense. Because of the unequal distribution of funds, there was considerable criticism of the Indian Office, as well as much jealousy between groups. All schools that were under contract with the government had certain regulations to observe and they were carefully

19 Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1892, pp. 177-178.

20 Ibid., 1897, pp. 12-18.

21 Ibid., 1892, pp. 56-57.
held to them by quarterly reports which were turned into the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and also by frequent inspections made by officials of the Indian service. Among the regulations were restrictions as to age, provisions as to the course of study, the equipment, the number of days school was to be held and the care to be given the students. The government inspector could require the dismissal of an employee who might be considered unqualified. After 1894, no more funds were received by the Presbyterian Church and beginning in 1895, the annual appropriations were gradually cut until 1901, when they stopped entirely. This source of revenue had been of much help to the school in Billman's administration as approximately $90,000 had been received from September, 1888 to December, 1894 and its discontinuance meant that the Board of National Missions would have to make up the difference.

One serious problem in the Indian school service was the scramble for students. The government schools were protected against the contract schools taking any of their pupils, but the latter were at the mercy of the government schools and efforts were made at times to secure pupils from other schools in order to increase the revenue of the school.

22 Paper 19, Historical files of Tucson Indian School. This is a copy of a contract entered into between R. V. Belt, acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Mr. Billman on September 22, 1892.

23 Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1905, pp. 34-35; 1902, p. 28.

24 This is estimated from the records found in Letter Copy Book I and II.
After one such incident, Billman wrote to the Superintendent of the government school at Albuquerque: "... but there is no occasion for this. When you have filled your buildings, and we have done the same, there will still be many children on the desert. Let us rather, therefore, vie with each other in bringing in such as have hitherto been without the advantage of attendance upon any school."25

All of these contacts made a good name for the school and it was well thought of by the Indian service officials, who inspected it. Dr. Daniel Dorchester, the United States Superintendent of the Indian Schools states: "I regard it as one of the very best and most successful of the Indian Contract Schools. One of its advantages is that the Indians have faith in Superintendent Billman. In spite of the fact that the Papagos are Catholics and Mr. Billman a Presbyterian, there has been no trouble between them over religious matters, but a strong mutual confidence."26


26 Miscellaneous papers in Mrs. Herndon's possession. This is an extract from Dr. Dorchester's report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for March, 1893. The following is another report that describes the school plant: "This school is no longer a contract school. Nevertheless, the Superintendent, Dr. Howard Billman has received me with the greatest kindness and hospitality and has most courteously shown me the whole of his institution.

The dormitories are spacious and well kept. They allow an average of 38 square feet to the pupil, which with a height of rooms of about 11 feet, gives an average of 320 cubic feet to the sleeper. There are at present 52 girls and 75 boys in the establishment of 127 altogether. Light and ventilation are good. At night the dormitory screen doors are locked with hooks and padlocks.

The dining room is spacious and has a good light. The tables are
Another source of revenue in the support of the school, was known as the scholarship method. Individuals or missionary societies would raise fifty dollars, the cost of a scholarship for a year and this would be turned in to the New York office of the Women's Board who would then notify the superintendent on the field. Letters would then be written several times during the year by both the pupil and the superintendent and sent to the holder of the scholarship. This method was not too satisfactory, however, as there were difficulties to be faced in the scholarship work. Oftentimes a child, who was assigned to a particular group might be taken out of school for some reason. This

very good and kept clean and good looking. The food is irreproachable. The kitchen is large, has good light and is well appointed. The girls and boys washrooms are separate houses built in the yard and protected from outside lookers by trellis work. In this climate, such an arrangement seems very commendable. The bathrooms are sufficiently large and well kept.

The laundry is a very good building and well appointed. There is no steam apparatus. The washing is all done by hand so as to make it as instructive as possible.

The serving is done particularly well, chiefly on account of a very good division of labor. There are three sewing rooms, namely the sewing room proper where the new garments are made, one room for mending the girls' clothes and one for mending the boys' clothing.

The school rooms are light and spacious. The classes are about as far advanced as at other Indian schools.

The industrial teaching is confined to farming and carpenter's work. The farm of 43 acres is remarkably well kept. It is irrigated by ditches made by the school boys and the work of irrigating is also done by the boys...

The buildings and improvements have cost under $22,000 and they are large and comfortable enough for 140-150 pupils. They are located within the city limits of Tucson, about 1 mile distant from the city itself. The farm is located in the neighborhood of the Santa Cruz River at a distance about a mile from the school...

Respectfully,
A. S. Heineman, Superintendent

Heineman to Superintendent of Indian Schools, Tucson, (April 17, 1895), No. 17874, Letters received, Arizona, 1895, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

would necessitate a new assignment. Then too, there was the big task
of writing these scholarship letters to the various individuals and
groups and often, because of more pressing duties, the letters would
not be sent on time for which explanations would have to be made. 28

The raising of necessary funds by these means was not always
easy and, in order to assist the Board, these early superintendents
secured various kinds of employment in Tucson for the older students.
Under the superintendent's direction, they would haul loads of stones,
sand, dirt, and other materials, and grade and clean the streets. For
this work, the school would receive from $1,000 to $3,000 per year. 29
For several years, Billman and Herndon underbid all others to get the
contract from the city for cleaning the streets. For this, they re­
ceived from ninety to a hundred dollars per month, and many favorable
comments were recorded in the daily papers concerning this work. 30

Typical is the following:

The Indian boys of this school are the most valuable workers
in Tucson. The street grading and repairing are better than
ever before. There has been more grading and improving in
the last six months for less money than ever before. The
streets are kept in excellent condition. 31

The last source of support which, while not of the monetary type,

434; Billman to Willet, Tucson, (Jan., 21, 1890), Letter Copy Book I,
p. 439.

29 Account Book 1892-1898, Historical files of the Tucson Indian
School.

30 Minutes of the City Council of Tucson, Jan., 1895 - April, 1902,
pp. 3, 100, 187.

31 Arizona Daily Star, June 26, 1895, p. 4; April 1, 1897, p. 4.
was of the utmost importance consisted of contributions of bedding, table linens, towels, and other articles sent in by various missionary societies throughout the United States. 32

All of this financial help enabled the school to take as many students as possible, but one of the biggest disappointments to the leaders of the school was the fact that each year they had to turn students away because of the lack of space for them. This was all the more disappointing because some had travelled for days across the desert in wagons, only to be rejected, and it was always the hope of the workers that new buildings would accommodate perhaps all of the youngsters who desired to come. 33

The first building to be erected on the school property was a two-story frame building, built under Walker's supervision and occupied on November 19, 1888. 34 All of the students lived there, as did the teachers. This arrangement did not offer much in the way of home training, however, and Miss Whittaker hoped that the $6,000 promised by the Synodical of Pennsylvania could be used for the construction of cottages. 35


33 Brown to Dickey, Tucson (Oct., 11, 1906), Letter Copy Book IV, p. 441.


35 Home Missions Monthly, II, No. 4, (Feb., 1888), pp. 81-82.
Considerable correspondence between Billman and the New York office over these proposed cottages resulted, but because of the pressure which the students brought to bear in urging the placement of their friends in the school, it was decided to build dormitories instead of the cottages. An adobe building was then constructed which was built around a court or patio and this was occupied by the boys in September. The wooden building which consisted of two dormitories and sitting room for the girls, seven rooms for teachers, a hospital room, dining room and two school rooms, was then used as the girls' home. Behind the girls' building was a two-story adobe building with the space between the two buildings bridged over and this was used as a kitchen and storage space. In 1891 the Synodical society of Illinois gave sufficient funds for a laundry building where all of the school laundry was done and the following year the Synodical society of New Jersey provided the money for a hospital which, as it was little used for its intended purpose, was turned into a home for the superintendent in 1902. Just west of the girls' building was a small bakery where the daily supply of bread was made. North of the laundry was a small corral with a barn for keeping the horses and several smaller buildings with a well and water tank completed the campus set-up. This latter had a windmill to pump the water the required one hundred feet to the tank, and, because this often

36 Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, p. 10.

had to be done by hand, the offer of a local merchant to install a six
horse power boiler and pump for $400 was accepted by Billman in 1890.
38
The opening of school would mean that the Pima students would meet
at Sacaton for a physical examination and to meet the teachers who had
come from the school to select those who were to attend that particular
year. There were always more candidates than could be enrolled. When
accepted, the group would then be brought by train to the school. The
Papago students, because of great distances between the villages, would
have to journey from fifty to seventy-five miles across the country in
wagons. Some who came to the school of their own accord would have to
be sent home again and many of those for whom there was no room said
that they would be willing to sleep on the floor, if only they could
stay.39 Such was the eagerness for learning as manifest by the early
students.

From the first ten pupils the attendance grew until there were
two hundred enrolled under Herndon's administration. This large number
made conditions too crowded because of the lack of facilities and it
was decided to reduce the number to 145.40 This reduced enrollment made
the work of new teachers easier, as the Indian child found it difficult

38 Billman to Eaton, Tucson, (April 9, 1890), Letter Copy Book I, p. 577; Interview with Mrs. Herndon, Feb., 27, 1942; Papers 2 and 22, Historical files of the Tucson Indian School. See Appendix E for sketch of this school site.


40 Paper 22, Historical files of the Tucson Indian School.
to conform to the new routine.

When they first came from the reservation, it was necessary to begin with the rudiments of sanitation, and the children were washed, disinfected and their hair cut. This latter operation was quite an ordeal for some of the older Indians as they prized their hair highly.*

Clothing for these young people was provided by the school. Some items were purchased in Tucson, but more were sent from New York. Shoes and hats also added comfort for the boys and girls who had little to come between them and the earth beneath or the heavens above.* The health of these children was always of paramount concern to the administrators and early in the planning program a local physician was secured as school doctor for twelve dollars per month. This, however, did not even pay for the medicine and later an agreement was made with Dr. H. W. Fenner, one of the leading physicians of Tucson, to serve in this capacity at $30 per month. He remained for many years.* Epidemics through the years disrupted the school program. In 1890, measles were brought from the Papago reservation.* In 1902 an epidemic of smallpox caused intense

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41 Interview with Mrs. Herndon, Feb., 3, 1942.


44 Billman to Crouse, Tucson, (Sept., 30, 1890), Letter Copy Book II, p. 47.
suffering in the city and at the school. 45

Billman, very bluntly but very fittingly, set forth the original purpose of the school when he said: "We propose to civilize the Indian by teaching him the beauty of the blistered hands. Among my own people I used to exhort, 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it Holy.' Now, I bear down on the Indian boys and girls, 'Six days shalt thou labor.'" 46

The aim of the work was to send out a group of "clean, industrious, self-respecting, self-reliant, self-supporting, and righteous Indians who will till their lands, build homes for themselves and live in the enjoyment of the fruit of their toil." 47 The idea of a Christian education to fit them for self-support was kept in mind in all of the training which the students received.

Language was another barrier to the early progress of the school as most of the speaking had to be done through an interpreter. Most of the early teaching was of an elementary character and there was no system of grading until 1900 when the first course of study was adopted. 48 This course required nine years to complete what would be the equivalent of eight years in public school. 49 The text books used were the


47 Home Missions Monthly, VIII, No. 11, (Sept., 1894), p. 250.


standard ones of the time and Bible, spelling, and history were taught in addition.\(^\text{50}\) Music was also taught and because the children took to it readily, a twelve piece band was later formed which gave occasional concerts.\(^\text{51}\) Much of the training, however, was of a kind that did not appear in regular classroom work. The children would come with no knowledge of the habits of civilized life and there would, of necessity, then have to be some instruction in the manners and customs of civilization.\(^\text{52}\) This took much patience and perseverance, but at last progress showed, and in 1902 four Pimas completed their work. In 1903 the first Papago, Jose Pablo, graduated with three other Pima boys.\(^\text{53}\)

The government required the teaching of nothing but English and to do this most effectively it was necessary to forbid the speaking of the Pima or Papago language. Harsh as this measure was, with punishment being meted out to offenders, it had the support of the parents who desired their children to know the English language.\(^\text{54}\)


\(^{52}\) Billman to Wickersham, Tucson, (April 19, 1889), Letter Copy Book I, p. 195.

\(^{53}\) Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, p. 44.

\(^{54}\) Herndon Scrapbook, No. 1, pp. 27-28.
Keeping in mind the purpose of the school, the superintendent included in the curriculum various kinds of industrial work. The students, both boys and girls were divided into two groups. One group would be in school in the morning while the other was working and during the afternoon the places would be reversed. The boys and girls were given work appropriate to their age and sex, with the girls being instructed in cookery, laundering, needlework and general housewifery. The work of caring for the ranch was one of the biggest tasks of the boys under the supervision of the farmer who lived on the ranch. They did the plowing, hoeing, and harvesting each day after school. Barley was the chief crop although some wheat and vegetables were also raised.

This ranch proved an asset, not only to the training of the boys, but to the reduction of the food budget for the year. The crops were usually successful, and it was a disaster when the barn, with its contents of hay, baler, mower, and other implements in addition to the products, burned on June 17, 1897. The barn was later rebuilt.

55 Paper 22, Historical files of the Tucson Indian School.


58 Arizona Daily Star, June 18, 1897, p. 4.
As on every ranch, the question of water was very important. In the early days, there had been difficulty in securing water for irrigating, but in 1903, this water question was successfully solved when money for an irrigation plant was donated by Mrs. Laura Eliot Cutter. In the spring of 1903, an eight inch electric pump was installed and this aroused much interest in the Santa Cruz valley as it was the first of its kind to be installed.

In addition to work on the ranch, carpenter work was another part of the training which the boys received. The services of a carpenter had been secured in the beginning and he was able to do the carpenter work around the school as well as give competent instruction to the boys who worked with him.

Since this was a mission school, definite Christian training was given in addition to the academic and industrial training. Chapel services were held after breakfast each morning and again in the evening. In the early days the students were often taken to the services of some of the local churches on Sundays until the Presbyterian Church was organized in 1902, after which the students attended there. In the fall

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59 Paper 20, Historical files of Tucson Indian School.

60 Arizona Daily Star, Feb., 11, 1903, p. 8.


62 Interview with Mrs. Herndon, Feb., 27, 1942.

of 1904, two Christian Endeavor societies were organized, one for the boys and the other for the girls. The training received at school fitted them to be of much help to their own churches during the summer when they would often hold services for their parents and friends.

Nor was the play life of these youngsters neglected. They played many of their Indian games in their free time, and they quickly adopted the games and play of the white children. Marbles, racing and ball were all favorite activities of the boys and they were adept in the use of the bow and arrow, seldom failing to pierce their target before it reached the ground. Football was also a favorite sport of the Indian boys. They generally played the University of Arizona two or three times a year, and the town team and the Sacaton Indians occasionally. Although they played the University a total of twenty-one games between 1899 and 1908, they never won any. However, they came nearest to winning in 1904 when the score was 6 - 5. Professor Rathrauff of the University coached both teams. In 1905 one of the Indian boys, Mathews, 

64 Billman to Allen, Tucson, (Feb., 24, 1891), Letter Copy Book II, p. 273.


66 Arizona Daily Star, Dec., 28, 1890, p. 4. This has an interesting description of the Christmas season at the Indian School; the Star of Dec., 30, 1890 on p. 4 has an interesting letter written by one of the boys to thank some unknown friend in the East for remembering him at Christmas.

was placed on the All Arizona team. In this same year the Tucson Indians claimed the Indian territorial championship by defeating Sacaton Indians 25 - 0. Many eastern visitors expressed themselves as never having seen a better exhibition of football than that played by the Indians.

The townspeople took a great interest in the school from its very start and in appreciation, the school cooperated in community activities. Whenever the children appeared in public, they drew favorable comment for the good order and discipline which they displayed. The school was always glad to have visitors, both Indian and white. Indian parents often visited their children and encouraged them to make use of their opportunities. The chief of the Pimas, Antonio Azul, spent several days at the school in 1889 and told the children of the advantages which they enjoyed there and encouraged them to be faithful and obedient.

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As the school grew in numbers, the city also expanded. The section surrounding the school had been the scene of remarkable growth and development beginning in 1903, and because the nature of the school work made it undesirable for a residential district to crowd too closely upon the school, there was felt the need to move to another location.\textsuperscript{72}

Accordingly, Superintendent Brown proposed to the city council on December 13, 1906, that it sell the four blocks which his school then held under the terms of a ninety-nine year lease. He guaranteed to bid for the property, an amount sufficient to cover all expenses and make the sale legal, and as soon as he had secured the deed, to sell the land and re-invest in a new site and buildings, the location of which would not be more than five miles distant from the city limits.\textsuperscript{73}

One week later, on December 20, the City Council accepted Brown's proposition at a special meeting and set December 31 as the day the lots would be sold at public auction in front of the city hall.\textsuperscript{74} At that time the Board of Home Missions, through its agent, Brown, purchased the lots for $480.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{72} \textit{Tucson Daily Citizen}, Mar., 30, 1907, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Minutes of the City Council of Tucson, April 1902 - Nov., 1907}, p. 629.

\textsuperscript{74} \textit{Tucson Daily Citizen}, Dec., 20, 1906, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Deeds of Real Estate, Pima County}, Book 42, p. 1999.
The lease that it held kept out other bidders. Brown appointed two other business men, Mr. J. S. Bayless and Mr. L. H. Hoffmeister, to serve on a committee with him to arrange for the sale of the old land and the purchase of the new site. On February 27, the George C. Kohler ranch of 160 acres, three miles south of the city on the Santa Cruz River was purchased for $9,500. Plans were than pushed for the sale of the old site. A big announcement of the auction appeared in the daily papers from March 29 until April 9, the date of the sale. On the forenoon of the day, the Indian school band rode around town in a wagon decorated with banners, announcing the sale. The committee felt that $20,000 would be a fair price and they were naturally surprised when $35,000 was paid for the four blocks by P. N. Jacobus who wished to continue building houses along Fourth Street where he had already erected twenty. A few days prior to the auction on April 4, the ranch had been sold to David S. Rose for $5,776.

76 Interview with Mr. Hoffmeister, Feb., 23, 1942; Paper 21, Historical files of the Tucson Indian School.

77 Tucson Daily Citizen, Feb., 28, 1907, p. 4.

78 Ibid., April 9, 1907, p. 4.

79 Ibid., April 10, 1907, p. 5.

80 Deeds of Real Estate, Pima County, Book 42, pp. 241-245.
This transaction was considered a wise move for all concerned. The city had acquired a large section of taxable land which, prior to this, had brought in no revenue to the treasury. Jacobus was able to continue his building and profitable investments, and the Board of Home Missions had received a large return on their investment, for they had paid the city $10 per lot and had sold them for an average price of $547 per lot. Also, they were able to seek a more desirable location for the school.

81 Tucson Daily Citizen, Mar., 30, 1907, p. 2; April 10, 1907, p. 8
CHAPTER VII

THE TUCSON INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL AFTER 1907

Judicious as was the sale of the old school site, more than a year elapsed before the school moved to its new location south of Tucson. This delay was caused by the depression that came on about this time and the long negotiations necessary between the Building Committee and the Home Missions Board over the plans for the buildings.\(^1\) During this year, the school continued on the old site in Tucson. The enrollment had dropped slightly because the previous summer the Board of Home Missions had passed a ruling which stipulated that parents of children attending the school would have to pay the fare for their children both to and from the school, as well as furnish them with shoes.\(^2\) This was something entirely new to the Indians as previously, in both government and mission schools, everything had been provided and the fact that so many did return was encouraging.\(^3\)

During this year, the boys were frequently taken out to the new location where they cleared land and helped with the construction of the new buildings after ground had first been broken on January 28,

\(^{1}\) Interview with Mr. Hoffmeister, Feb., 23, 1942.


With the necessity of evacuating the old premises by the middle of July, school was dismissed early and the older children were used to help in tearing down the buildings. The lumber from these, together with what other material could be salvaged, was taken to the new site for reuse. The final load was removed on July 3. The remainder of the summer, all available workers were busy in preparations for the opening of school on September 24. When the children arrived that fall, they found that they were going to live in a small village which was so complete that it even had its own post office, for the Escuela Post Office had been established on July 10, 1907, and continued in use for thirty-five years. In addition to the post office, this "village" consisted of two cottages, one for the superintendent and one for the farmer, and two dormitories. The two dormitories were identical except that on the ground floor of the girls' building were the kitchens and dining rooms for teachers and

4 Paper 21, Historical files of Tucson Indian School.

5 Brown to Waller, Tucson, (April 10, 1908), Letter Copy Book IV, p. 143.


children, while on the ground floor of the boys' dormitory were the classrooms. The bricks for these buildings had been made and burned on the grounds, the production of which materially reduced the approximate $56,000 cost of the buildings. The money for the erection of these buildings had come largely from the sale of the old property, and the chapel was erected from a bequest of $9,000 given in memory of Eleanor J. Cooper.

During this school year, the depression made it again necessary to reduce numbers from 160 to 125. But all worked eagerly to get things cleaned up and running smoothly. When the dedicatory exercises were held on February 16, 1909, the school had its own electric power plant, and two wells, in addition to the two already there, had been dug. The Elliott Memorial Tablet, which had been furnished for the well on the old ranch site by Mr. and Mrs. Cutter as a memorial to John Elliott, was brought out from the original location and built into the wall of the engine house on the river bank.

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10 Paper 21, Historical files of Tucson Indian School.

11 Brown to Ballou, Tucson, (Jan., 19, 1909), Letter Copy Book IV, p. 496.


13 Robe to Boyd, Tucson, (April 26, 1911), Letter file I.
Two services of dedication were held -- one in the afternoon and one in the evening. The report of the building committee was given in the afternoon and the buildings formally presented to the Board of National Missions. The Board was represented by Dr. R. M. Donaldson of Denver and others on the program were: Miss Julia Fraser, Western Field Secretary of the Women’s Board of Home Missions, Rev. F. S. Herndon, and Dr. Cook who spoke on "The History of Presbyterian Work among the Indians of the Southwest." The evening address was given by Dr. John R. Gass of Albuquerque, the Synodical Superintendent of Arizona and New Mexico. A well-deserved tribute was paid Brown for his effort by the members of the building committee when they said: "Credit for the substantial and economical construction and completion of the buildings belongs to Mr. H. G. Brown. The success of the undertaking is due to his efficient management and tireless industry."15

With the new buildings completed and the final report made to the Board, Brown felt that his work was finished and accordingly sent in his resignation as superintendent of the school to take up work as Superintendent of the City Water Works on March 2, 1909.16

A reduction of the budget to $75,000 faced the new Superintendent and it was felt that another cut in attendance would be necessary but, under the direction of Mr. Jervis B. Lawrence, the new superintendent,


15 Paper 21, op. cit.

the summer crops yielded abundantly and brought sufficiently high proceeds that the enrollment was not cut. Lawrence was also interested in making improvements in the plant. Under his supervision, a shed was built for farm implements, dormitory furniture was made, the laundry was remodeled and a bakery installed as an interesting experiment. Two Indian boys were trained to do the school baking which averaged 150 lbs. of flour per day and this proved of great help to the budget.

It was a great loss, therefore, when Lawrence was taken ill and died of appendicitis on May 3, 1910.

To replace him, John M. Robe was brought as temporary superintendent from the Nuyaka Indian Training School near Okmulgee, Oklahoma, and he remained in Tucson for two years. He continued the improvements of the plant when work on enlarging the laundry was begun in 1911 and when a satisfactory arrangement was made with the Tucson Electric Light and Power Company, which installed proper transformers and other necessary equipment without cost to the school in exchange for the gasoline engines, dynamo, battery and other equipment that constituted the power plant of the school. The operation of this old equipment had been a big job


21 Ibid., May 13, 1910, p. 7; Tucson Daily Citizen, May 13, 1910, p. 4; Boyd to Robe, New York, (May 31, 1911), Letter file I.
and had taken the full time of a worker, so the change made the plant more efficient.

A permanent successor was finally found in the person of Dr. James F. Record who arrived in the summer of 1912 from Pikeville College, Kentucky, where he had been president. During his short term of three years, the first automobile was purchased and bathrooms were built on the top floors of both dormitories. He resigned in 1915. 22

The frequent change of superintendents had made difficult the efficient functioning of the school and it was of advantage that a man was now appointed whose length of service lacked only one year of equaling the total of all former superintendents put together. Martin L. Girton, D. D. (as of 1932), was appointed to the work in June, 1915, from Asheville, North Carolina, where he had been principal of the school, and he remained until his retirement in 1941.

The first big task that confronted him after his arrival on the field pertained to the water supply for the school. In December of the previous year, the Santa Cruz River had flooded the valley and caused damage to the school amounting to $1,000. This damage was mostly to the motor of the well. School records show that during this month 5.86 inches of water fell. 23 This well had a wooden casing that was be-

22 Interview with Miss Minnie Parker, April 15, 1942.

ginning to give away and, as there was danger of a cave in, it was
decided to haul out the pump in 1919. The following year the present
farm well was dug almost entirely by student labor under the direction
of John Hollingsworth, and in 1938 another well was drilled on the
east edge of the farm because the flow of water from the older well
had gradually diminished. The drilling of this well enabled the
reclamation of land not previously under cultivation. 24

With the problem of water solved, attention was next turned to
the comfort of the students, and the need for sleeping porches was
seen. 25 In November, 1917, Girton was notified that a legacy of
$5,000 for sleeping porches had been made available and a year later
work on them was completed and they were ready for use in the fall of
1918. 26

During World War I, much emphasis was, of necessity, placed on
economy. All signed the Food Conservation Pledge and practically
nothing went into the garbage cans. 27 The influenza epidemic which
spread so quickly over the country in 1918 was also felt at the school.
For two weeks all regular work was stopped and of the 142 cases that
were treated, only one girl died. Two Indians volunteered their

24 Interview with Dr. Girton, April 20, 1942.
26 Allaban to Girton, New York, (Nov., 6, 1917), Letter File I.
27 Girton to Allaben, Escuela, (Nov., 8, 1918) (Feb., 10, 1918),
Letter file I.
services when it was difficult to secure any help to care for the sick. Herbert Cawker worked on the farm and Joseph Knox, who had a daughter in school, nursed the boys in the dormitory. Knox stayed until the worst was over, but then took sick himself and died in a very short time. No sooner had the school recovered from the epidemic than it broke out on the reservation. This further disrupted the school program as many of the students were needed at home and the school gave what assistance it could on the Papago Reservation, since there was only one doctor to look after the 5,000 Indians living in an area the size of Connecticut. Food and blankets were taken out and distributed in the various villages and advice given on the care of the sick. 29

As the war ended conditions eased and a building program was started which extended over several years. In 1921 an administration building was constructed to replace the class rooms in the basement of the boys' dormitory. This was erected with funds from the Russell Sage Foundation and special dedicatory exercises were held on January 24, 1922, with Miss Mabel Sheibley, secretary of the Women's Board of Home Missions, giving the principal address. 30

Students who finished the required course often wished to continue their education and for this purpose, a house was secured in Tucson where the girls could live while attending the High School or the University. It was rather coincidental that the home which was used

29 Girton to Allaban, Escuela, (Nov., 6, 1918), Letter File I, interview with Dr. Girton, April 20, 1942.
30 Robe to Allaban, Escuela, (Nov., 25, 1911), Letter File I.
for this purpose was located on the site of the original school on East Fifth Street. 32 This home was leased in 1922 for one year with the option of buying it at the end of the year, the rent money to be applied on the purchase price. Money to purchase the home was raised in one year by the young people of the Presbyterian Church throughout the United States. 33

Money from the Olivia Sage fund was used to build a teachers' home in 1923 and this building provided not only living quarters, but also a teachers' dining room and kitchen. At the same time the building which had been the original chapel was enlarged into a commodious dining hall for the students. 34

From the beginning there had been a desire on the part of the workers for a model cottage where the girls could get better training for the homes they would establish, and these dreams of early days were finally realized on May 2, 1926, when the Harbison Cottage was dedicated. The funds had been raised by the Pittsburgh Presbyterian Society, and it was named after one of this society's former presidents, Mrs. Emma J. Harbison, who had been very much interested in the Indian work. In that same year, a fine swimming pool, the gift of Mrs. Gamble of the Proctor and Gamble Soap Company, was constructed. 35

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32 Deeds of Real Estate, Pima County, Book 92, p. 160.
33 Interview with Dr. Girton, April 20, 1942.
34 Home Missions Monthly, XXXVIII, No. 4, (Feb., 1924), p. 80; Interview with Dr. Girton, April 20, 1942.
35 Arizona Daily Star, May 1, 1926, p. 10; Papers 7 and 10,
All of the above mentioned construction was completed by either contract or day labor, with the Indian boys doing very little of the work. The remaining buildings were put up almost entirely with student help under the direction of Leslie M. Cronk, who had come to the school in 1926 as shop teacher and who, from 1937 to 1943, combined these duties with those of principal.

The first project the boys helped with was the Kumler McKelvey Cottage which was erected in 1928 for a married worker and which had been made possible through a contribution given by the Presbyterian women of Pittsburgh. A new brick bakery was built near the kitchen in the fall of 1930 and a Senior Boys' Home in the spring of 1932. The money for this dormitory had come from the profits of the magazine, Women and Missions, which had made a survey of the various Board schools to see which had been doing the most for itself. $5,000 was given for the project, but as only $3,000 was needed, the balance was used to repair and remodel the other Boys' Dormitory.

In the summer of the following year, fire destroyed one of the barns on the farm and a modern dairy barn and corrals were erected with the resulting insurance. A new home for the superintendent was begun in January, 1936, with funds from savings on the annual budgets.

Historical files of Tucson Indian School.

36 Interview with Mr. L. M. Cronk, April 21; with Dr. Girton April 22, 1942.

37 Ibid.
and from gifts of W. H. Preston, a farm manufacturer from New York.
This was completed in the spring of 1937 and permitted the girls who
had been living at the graduate home in Tucson to live on the campus
in the superintendent's former home.

Homes and home improvement on the reservation are an important
consideration of this school. With this in mind plans were formulated
in 1937 to build a model Indian home, the purpose of which was to give
training in the construction and the furnishing of a home. Since this
was to be a school project, all took part; the arithmetic classes
estimated the cost of construction; the girls made the rugs, linens and
curtains in their sewing classes; the boys did the building in their
class time. Construction began in 1938 and the building was completed
in 1940 at a cost of less than $500. 38

The latest building to be erected was a new shop for the Manual
Training classes. This was started in March, 1941, and was completed
when school closed in May, 1942.

To keep the area surrounding the school free from overcrowding,
eighty acres were added to the original one hundred sixty acres and by
this purchase, a large arroyo on the eastern boundary was controlled. 39
The northern sixty-five acres were purchased on January 24, 1927, and the
southern fifteen acres were turned over to the Board of National Missions

38 Interview with Mr. Cronk, April 21, 1942.
39 Interview with Dr. Girton, April 20, 1942.
on April 24, 1934, by Girton who had purchased them on June 10, 1924.

Upon the completion of twenty-six years of service, Girton was retired in 1941 after an administration in which the Indians had come to love and respect him because of the deep interest he had taken in them economically, socially, and spiritually. He was succeeded by Dr. John E. King, a former superintendent of Dwight Indian School in Oklahoma.

King remained until May 15, 1943 when he left to join the Navy and Cronk, the principal, who had planned to enter public school work, was asked to continue for one year as superintendent. Following Cronk's administration, Miss Anna F. Falls was transferred from the Ganado, Arizona Mission School to Tucson as superintendent beginning in September, 1944, but her term was of short duration for on February 23, 1945, she died of a heart attack and her work, for the balance of the school year was taken over by a committee composed of Miss Isabel Miller, Warner Taylor, and Girton. Joseph A. Poneel was sent from the Allison-James School in Santa Fe, New Mexico, to assume the superintendency on August 1, 1945.

The academic program of the school which included the first eight years was for many years quite simple because the needs of the students were simple. Many of the newcomers who entered school could speak no English; they had never slept on a bed, nor used a knife or

40 Deeds of Real Estate, Pima County, Books 10, p. 110; 115, pp. 203-204; 179, p. 128.

41 Interview with Mr. Cronk, Aug., 3, 1947; with Mr. Poneel, Aug., 4, 1947.
fork and it was not until the late twenties that all of the children had a speaking knowledge of the English language.  

For many years, over half of the school was in the lower grades, where the chief task was to teach English, while the largest class was composed of non-English-speaking children. But as progress was made the enrollment in the lower classes decreased and by 1924 less than one-fifth of the children were in the lower three grades and the non-English-speaking class was greatly reduced. Gradually the chronological age approached school age.

Mention has been made above of the purchase of the graduate home in Tucson to take care of the students who finished the eight grades offered at the Industrial school and who wished further education. This home had been purchased to take care of the girls as the boys would ride to the school in town on bicycles. It was a radical change for these Indian young folks to leave their Indian groups to compete with white children, but most of them did very well in finishing high school in the required four years. One of the outstanding girls who lived in this new home was Christine Garcia, a Papago girl, who distinguished herself at the University of Arizona and became the first Papago to complete University work. She graduated in 1931 and then taught in the government school at Isleta, New Mexico. When the

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42 *Home Missions Monthly*, XXIX, No. 4, (Feb., 1915), p. 99; Interview with Mr. Cronk, April 21, 1942.

43 *Home Missions Monthly*, XXXIII, No. 4, (Feb., 1924), p. 80.
high school was added at Escuela, there was no longer the necessity of
keeping the home open, and in 1937 the project was moved to the campus.
Miss Maude P. Linney directed this home from 1924 until her retirement
in 1943. Since then, different staff members have had this responsibility. 44

With the Merriam Survey of 1928 and the Reorganization Act of 1934
the government began to organize day schools on the reservations and,
since these schools took over the responsibility of the education of the
younger children, it was decided that it would be to the advantage of
all to change the Tucson Indian Training School to include high school.
As a result, the ninth grade was added in the year 1934-35. In 1936-37
the tenth grade was added; the next year the eleventh grade was included
and in 1938-39, the high school was complete and the first class gradu­
ated. During this time, the lower grades had been dropped, so that to­
day the school includes the fifth grade through the twelfth. 45

In 1937 the former system of a half day work schedule was changed
so that there could be a closer relationship between the academic and
the industrial work. The present system of staggered work days was
inaugurated, a plan which thus allowed the work to be a part of each
school day. 46 This work includes keeping the plant in working order,
the buildings clean, farming, raising livestock, mechanics, shop work,
laundering, mending and cooking.

44 Ibid., p. 85; Women and Missions, VII, No. 11, (Feb., 1931),
p. 427; Interview with Miss Linney, April 18, 1942; with Mr. Taylor,

45 Supplement to Annual Report, Tucson Indian Training School,

46 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
Important as learning and work is in the life of the school, recreation also plays a part in the lives of the young people. Situated near mountains, it is possible to take groups on picnics and with present means of transportation, groups can now go farther than in the days of horse and wagon. Through the years Christmas has always been an exciting time for all. Gifts are distributed to the students who receive them with appreciation and joy and learn the joy of giving in return. Plays, musicals, movies, carnivals and parties make up the other social activities.

As in the early days, the boys are naturally quite interested in athletics and the major sports such as football, basketball, track and baseball. One of the highlights of Escuela's athletic history was the winning of permanent possession of the Phil C. Brannen cross-country trophy on February 22, 1919, when the Indian team defeated the University of Arizona after three successive years. The leader of this winning team was Alexander Cannon, who later became a governor of the Pima tribe. In the past few years the smaller boys have had the opportunity of participating in organized competition through teams entered in the City Recreation League in Tucson. These contacts with other

47 Interview with Mrs. Mary Lynn, April 10, 1942.


boys have been of value in broadening their outlook.

Self-consciousness prevented the girls from enjoying active sports until recently when marching, volleyball, calisthenics, softball, dodge ball, swimming, basketball, captain-ball, speed-ball and archery were introduced. In 1938 a girls' athletic club was organized, composed of members who have earned a certain number of required points in sports. This club sponsors pep rallies prior to the football games and conducts tournaments in various sports for the girls. 50

To give the students experience in everyday living, a school store and a student bank have been added. The eighth grade class assumed responsibility for the store in September, 1938, when each member of the class had an opportunity to serve as operator of the store for at least two weeks. They were responsible for keeping all of the books, which are balanced at the end of each month by the arithmetic class. The whole project is closely linked with the class work of the grade. From the profits of the store, netting $320 in the first three years of its existence, a watering system has been put in the football field and a basketball court constructed for the girls. 51 The bank was started in the fall of 1941 as a ninth grade mathematics project. The purpose of the bank is to give training and experience in bookkeeping, to provide a safe place for the students' funds, and to encourage savings accounts. 52 At the close of the first year it was found that

50 Supplement to Annual Report, Tucson Indian Training School, Jan., 27, 1942, pp. 111-114.
51 Ibid., pp. 104-107.
that sixty-two students had opened accounts and that $2,655.96 had been deposited in the bank from different school accounts.

The religious program of the school is closely correlated with the program as a whole. In 1922 there was felt a desire to organize a church at the school because of its distance from town. A petition was presented to the Presbytery of Phoenix on April 6, 1922, asking that the Presbytery organize a Presbyterian Church at the Indian School, which was to be known as the Escuela Presbyterian Church. The students' membership was to be transferred from the Trinity Presbyterian Church. Presbytery appointed Rev. F. S. Hernon, Dr. James MacDonald, and Elder J. S. Bayless to proceed with the organization which was completed on April 9. Girton was installed as Elder of the new church, and on October 21, 1931, he was ordained as a minister by the Phoenix Presbytery and appointed Stated Supply of the Escuela Church.

Supplementing the religious church services are Sunday School classes, Sunday evening groups, daily chapel services, vacation Bible school and, since 1936, Indian young people's conferences. These conferences bring together a group of select young people from the various churches for instruction, the discussion of problems, and fellowship.

53 Interview with Dr. Girton, April 20, 1942.

54 Session Minutes of the Escuela Presbyterian Church.

55 Supplement to Annual Report, Tucson Indian Training School, Jan., 27, 1942, pp. 87-92, 103 a-b.
following tribes: Maricopa, Mohave, Apache, Kickapoo, Creek, Klamath, Navajo, Hopi, Yavapai, Choctaw, Yaqui, Zuni, Omaha, Cheyenne, Mono, and Sioux. These students are now asked to pay $30 per year to help allay the expenses of the school, which is now evaluated at over $500,000 and for which an annual budget of $28,000 is required to operate excluding salaries.

Of the approximate 2,200 students who have attended the school, the great majority are ordinary farmers, cattlemen and homemakers, while a few are merchants and government employees. A few others of the outstanding students are doing work that merits special mention.

One young man, who was principal of a reservation day school, is the first Fima Indian to have been accepted into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church with all educational requirements fulfilled.

Another young man will graduate from the University of Arizona in the spring of 1948, a major in accounting, after spending some years as captain in the U. S. Army.

Fourteen students have become graduate nurses and one served as technician to a government doctor, visiting all of the hospitals under the Indian service in the United States and Alaska.

A former student, is now secretary of the Papago Council and one served as an agent for the FBI.

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59 Interview with Dr. Girton, April 22, 1942; Annual School Report, 1941-42; Interview with Mr. Poncel, Aug., 4, 1947.

60 Annual School Report, 1941-42; annual requisition, 1940-41; annual inventory, 1940-41, all on file in office of Tucson Indian School.
Since the high school was established, the school has graduated sixty students, twenty-eight girls and twenty-two boys. There were one hundred ninety former students in the last war, thirteen of whom gave their lives for their country.

APPENDIX A.

COOK'S DIARY

AND A FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF HIS

TRIP TO ARIZONA, TAKEN FROM AMONG THE PIMAS
DAY BOOK

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REV. CHARLES H. COOK

---

Of Chicago, Illinois

JOURNEY TO ARIZONA

---

PIMA AGENCY

---

ARIZONA TERRITORY

---

September 1 - 1870

to

February 24, 1871

Original copy in possession of
Mr. James S. Dean
2787 Marty Way
Sacramento, California
Thursday Sept. 1, 1870

Had barely sufficient time to pack up, tell friends good-by, etc.
got organ for $5.00. Took C. B. & Q. R. R. at 5 p.m. for Quincy.
Mr. Jones $5.00. Mr. Ware Wiltse, etc. were at the train. Cool night.
Sleeping a little difficult. Had pass through Rev. John R. Smale from
Mr. Harris & Recommend to Hannibal.

Friday Sept. 2, 1870

Arrived at Quincy at 5:30 a.m. Mr. Lee refused a pass, took
steamer, Mary Johnson for Hannibal at one o'clock. Fare including
dinner $1.00. Pleasant trip of two hours. Mr. Lathrop, treasurer
kindly furnished me a pass to Kansas City. Bought some clothing left
H. at 9:30 p.m. Comfortable night sufficient room, cool.

Saturday, Sept. 3, 1870

Arrived in Kansas City at 9 a.m. Stayed at the Gilliss house
(C. G. Hopkins) Two dollars per day for two days used me kindly.

Sunday, Sept. 4, 1870

Attended Congregational S. School on Grand Street at 9 a.m.
Small attendance. Morning Service at Grand Street M. E. Church. Found
Mr. Reed, went with him to dinner. Visited their S. School at 2:30
p.m., also their Mission at 4 p.m. Addressed both. After which had a
sing at an M. E. house about ten to 12. Pleasant time. Spent the
evening at the Southern M. E. Church. This has been a very pleasant
Sunday to me indeed, the Lord be praised. Saturday had some Photos
taken to be sent to Mr. James. (Saw Mr. Watkins, Banker.)

Monday, Sept. 5, 1870

Mr. Reed gave letter to Mr. Noble at Lawrence through which
procured pass to Kit Carson. Left Kansas City at 9:50 a.m. for Lawrence
fare $2.50. Mr. Nogle gave pass, warm day. Left L. at 6:30 p.m.
Letter Mr. James.

**Tuesday, Sept. 6th, 1870**

Eastern Kansas looks thriving, fine warm windy moonlight night,
toward midnight we are on the prairies. Former scenes are brought
strongly to remembrance; how great if the iron horse could pull Christian
civilization with it. Small towns & smaller stations along the Smocky-
hilfork. Large deserts on both side of the road. Everything looks
desolate towards noon we see a few and afterwards more buffalo. The
stations are guarded by small detachments of troops. Their small bomb-
proof quarters resemble a prairie dog town more than anything else.
Breakfast at 10 a.m. Price $1.00. Arrived at Kit Carson at 7:30 p.m.
Stayed at the American Hotel. (four meals and night's poor lodging
$3.75.) However slept sound in spite of barroom, gambling, etc.

**Wednesday, Sept. 7th, 1870**

Stayed in Carson all day. Could not get pass for stage. Mr.
Stone, route agent. Windy day. Some stores, plenty saloons, drinking
and gambling, hard place; at 8 p.m. took the stage for Bents Fort and
expecting there to get along with Mr. Hassards. Train to Prescott for
25 cents per mile, fare $16.00. 4 men passengers & 2 ladies, close
setting for sleep, cool pleasant night. (Letter Mr. Kean.)

**Thursday, Sept. 8th, 1870**

Passed for Lyons at 8 a.m. Arrived at Bents old fort at 10 a.m.
Mr. Price station keeper. Breakfast one dollar. Some trains are going
west but not Mr. Hassards. Weather warm.
Friday, Sept. 9th, 1870

Some trains pass but not Mr. Hassards. Had some music. Weather warm, cool night.

Saturday, Sept. 10th, 1870

Some trains pass. Heavy hail storm in the afternoon. Some clothes washed. Two tame antelope.

Sunday, Sept. 11th, 1870

Nice day, preached in the morning to about ten-twelve. On faith. Hassards' train arrives crosses over. Mr. Hassard heavily loaded, don't care much to take me along, his wife (?) doesn't want me along, concluded not to go with them. They cross the river & travel on. Sunday little regarded by these white heathen. Spent the afternoon mostly with singing and the instrument. A few hours heavy storm during night. Towards evening brought Mexican horse thief.

Monday, Sept. 12, 1870

All quiet today, no trains or coach passing westward, warm day. In the evening a Mexican train arrived with two empty stage coaches. (Singing in the evening with instrument.) The wagon master will take me to Fort Union for $10.00.

Tuesday, Sept. 13th, 1870

Bents fort. Left the fort in the morning with Mexican Ox train. Due Mr. Mark B. Price for meals fourteen dollars which he made me a present bought flour and yeast powder one dollar fifty. Presented to him Bible illustrated. Travelled some 4 miles along the Arkansas, then stopped some 4-5 hours, Warm weather, travelled some in the evening and encamped at dark about nine miles from Bents fort.
Wednesday, Sept. 14th, 1870

Left camp at 6:30 a.m. Traveled some 6-8 miles and then halted for breakfast, then traveled again, starting at 2:30 p.m. Supper at mail station: (only three -- two men there, small store and plenty of whiskey.) Started at 7 p.m. after supper, broke a reach halted at 2 in the morning near Iron Springs. (long night march).

Thursday, Sept. 15th, 1870

Left camp at about 7 a.m. Traveled some 5-6 miles until 10 a.m. Halted some 2 miles from water for breakfast. Thermometer 95 in sun. Road good a little rolling. Started at 1:30 p.m. and went to near Hole in the rock where we had supper (some rocks and a little water.) Left camp at dark passed Hole in the rock Station encamped at about 2 o'clock in the morning some ten miles from Hole in the prairie.

Friday, Sept. 16th, 1870

Left Camp in the morning and went to Hole in the prairie for breakfast, had a shot at some antelopes but at too great a distance. At this station much drunkenness. Lady thinks butter cheap at one dollar per pound. I don't. Plenty of Texas cattle here some 810,000. Left H. in Prairie at about 1 p.m. Had a heavy hail and rain storm at about 2 p.m. Lasting about three fourths hours. Encamped at Trinidad River, where we got in the evening at 6:30. Melons cheese and chile.

Saturday, 17th, 1870

Went ahead of train passed Hassards' train. Breakfast 2½ miles east of Trinidad, Colorado. Before breakfast went across the river. To Yankee farm was treated to some bread and milk bought onions for fifty cents. Set a forlorn Irish peddler, who complained bitterly, had
a donkey, and a few traps. Gave him one dollar. After twelve o'clock went to Trinidad. Nice town. Saw Church and shape 1 and school house and dwelling all in one, but gave me a hearty welcome. And wanted me to stay over Sunday. Mr. Rice M. E. preacher and wife are well liked. They keep school and church and receive from the friends $25.00. Bought beef and mutton, twenty pounds for $1.70. Went some 3-4 miles beyond town and encamped for the night.

Sunday, Sept. 18th, 1870.

I had asked the wagon master to rest on Sunday, but he refused. We left camp in the morning nice weather. Traveled some 5-6 miles and then stopped for breakfast, came near losing two oxen, then found them, however, started on again. (Met two Ute Indians surprised to see me reading the testament, friendly) Traveled on. Crossed the mountain ridge and encamped some 3-4 miles on the other side. After some breakage on one of the wagons. In the evening a thief or Mexican Ladros came into camp asking the hospitality until we should reach Maxwell's Range, A sorrowful Sunday for me, breaking the Lord's Commandments.

Monday, Sept. 19, 1870.

Left Camp after some breakfast and went to Red River. Did not feel well in the afternoon some headache. Passed mail station. Lady charged me 15 cents for quart milk and ten cents for two little slices of bread. In the evening the mysterious stranger seemed to watch for my rifle to steal it, seeing that I watched him he deserted, however, soon after he stole Pony and Mule from the Wagon Master. Had we kept the Sabbath this might not have happened. May the Lord forgive us all.
Tuesday, Sept. 20, 1870.

Tuesday felt some better. Wagon Master in pursuit of Ladros but without success. We left Camp and traveled about seven miles, then halted for breakfast at about one o'clock near the Vermijo. Wagon Master bought some mutton. Cold, stormy, rain and snow. Very windy with the Lord's aid spent a tolerable comfortable night. One beef dead was skinned and the flesh taken along for food.

Wednesday, Thursday, Sept. 21 and 22.

Left Camp at about 8 a.m. without breakfast. Heavy rain and cold. Traveled some six miles and then halted for breakfast. Started at 2:30 p.m. Therein after awhile somewhat abating and stopping all. Together toward five o'clock. Thursday evening encamped at Questade O CataCannon. Cool night.

Friday, Sept. 23, 1870

Left Camp in the morning up hill and bad road. good weather. Left train and took short cut to O Kate station where I received a friendly lunch and was informed about Mr. Harwood at LaJunta train came after some hours and went a few miles further to the little lake, Supper. Started out near sundown and went to within some nine miles of Fort Union. Windy cool night. Snow in the mountains.

Saturday, Sept. 24, 1870.

Went ahead of train road with man in a carriage, some six miles to Fort Union. Saw Sutler. Thought best to go to LaJunta. Dinner a few miles south of Fort Union. Went ahead of train to LaJunta. Saw Bro. and Sister Harwood, they wanted me to stay over Sunday which I gladly accepted. Train passed on ahead in the evening. Mexican offered
to carry rifle.

Sunday, Sept. 25, 1870

Intended to go with Br. Harwood to Fort Union, but we stopped on the road, Mr. Harwood having pain in his leg. We had not made this a subject of prayer. Preached for him to a comfortable Congregation, felt somewhat the lack of help divine. Nice little Sunday School. Had some singing with Mrs. Harwood. They will soon have their chapel finished. Had quiet rest.

Monday, Sept. 26, 1870.

Left Lapella Station (where I had sleeping and breakfast gratis) In the morning per stage coach. Six dollars for Tecalots where I over-took the train. They had lost an ox and had had a fight on account of Sunday traveling. We stayed at Tecalote several days. Some Mexicans wanted me to start a school there, quite a No. of places and no school. Antonio Futenex left us here for Las Colonios or Pecos River. He wants eight or nine dollars more for Santa Fe. They having boarded me and treated me very kindly, etc. (thanks to the Lord) I willingly paid eighteen dollars for the whole trip to Santa Fe. Had some music in Mexican house.

Wednesday, Sept. 28, 1870

Left Tecalote in the evening Antonio's brother. Took charge of train, went to foot of big hill some three-four miles west of Tecalote. Camped for the night. Sisters passed in next morning.

Thursday, Sept. 29, 1870

Left Camp after breakfast, Dinner at Bernal. bought provisions for fifty cents. Camp some three miles from San Jose.
Friday, Sept. 30th, 1870

Left Camp after breakfast. Passed through San Jose. (no school)

Dinner some miles west of San Jose. encamped some six miles
Parjaritta Springs. Bought half-dollar onions and washed in the Pecos.
Considered the propriety of traveling on next Sunday.

Saturday, Oct., 1st, 1870

Warm day. Left train with a few things and started for Santa
Fe. Marched some seven miles. Stage overtook me and took me for
five dollars to Santa Fe. Was warmly welcomed by Sister McFarland
and the Doctor, who wanted me to preach for him, a good time of
refreshing.

Sunday, Oct. 2, 1870

Nice day. Preached in the morning, the great Supper. Church
nearly full. Talked to the children at Sunday School at nine. Miss
Malory plays the organ. In the evening talked to children, grown
people. Monthly meeting on Daniel, etc. Good day, the Lord helped me.

Monday, Oct. 3, 1870

Nice day. Wrote to Mr. Keane and the German Brother. Saw Gen'l.
Geddy, Howland who gave a letter of introductions to Mr. Werner,
Albuquerque attended Spanish class. The place somewhat improved.
Headquarters of army going up quickly. Tuesday, train came in at
dinner time. Changed my things in to other ox train, four wagons
going empty to Albuquerque. Sister McFarland amply supplied my
temporal wants with lunch, butter, towel, nice soap, etc. Rev. Mr.
D. F. McF. gave me quite a supply of tracts. We left Santa Fe at
about three p. m. and encamped some 6-7 miles from there.
Wednesday, Oct. 5, 1870

Left Camp and went to Pino's Range. Had dinner. Left there and went to next Creek at about sundown had supper. Three Pueblo Indians came in Camp. They looked well and kind. Had a severe headache from cold draft during last night. Traveled from eight to about 12 p.m.

Thursday, Oct. 6th, 1870

Left Camp. Reached the river after eleven o'clock. Had dinner. Started out again. Passed St. Philipp, nice Pueblo town. Through another town. Had supper, then traveled on until about 11 or 12 p.m. passing through Algodones at night.

Friday, Oct. 7, 1870

Left Camp in the morning. Stopped for dinner, warm day, my health not improved, we reached Albuquerque at about 3 p.m. At first no quarters to be found, however, the Lord helped me find a comfortable room and received good day board from Mr. Werner, Ger. Catholic Postmaster.

Saturday, Oct. 8th, 1870

Cold stormy, dusty day. Glad we came in yesterday. Got acquainted with Capt. V. and Dr. Simonton and others.

Sunday, Oct. 9th, 1870

Preached in the morning to about 12-14 hearers. Nice day. May the Lord's cause be built up here. No Sunday Schools.

Monday, Oct. 10, 1870

All kinds of work.

Tuesday, Oct. 11, 1870

Saw Ex Governor Arny about Indian matters, etc.
Wednesday, Oct. 12, 1870

Gave Gov. Army copies of discharge papers. Spent the afternoon washing.

Thursday, Oct. 13, 1870

Wrote letters to Rev. McFarland, Mr. James M., Raven H. Wiltse.

Friday, Oct. 14, 1870

Nothing of special importance.

Saturday, Oct. 15, 1870

Visit from Darkey who desires schools. Some wind.

Sunday, Oct. 16, 1870

Windy and stormy no meeting. Pleasant day on the whole.

Monday, Oct. 17, 1870

Rainy day and stormy in the evening, received some wood. Had a nice fire. Wrote to Mrs. Henerson. Yesterday, a soldier who fell from wagon near Algodones and killed was brought here. A wagon government heavy loaded passed here. Had they not traveled on Sunday this accident might not have happened.

Tuesday, Oct. 18, 1870

No letter for me. Preached funeral sermon on the hills near Albuquerque. In the morning three white man and some Mexicans present Fair day a little cool. The Lord is still kindly supplying my daily wants abundantly and also restoring my bodily health. Temptations have more or less assailed me, admonishing me that I must lay a more firm hold on the Master. Bought six pounds of cornmeal at six cents a pound. Received a copy of Christian at work. Some good pieces. May the Lord help me to be able to pursue the journey.
Wednesday, Oct. 19, 1870

Spent most of the day in sewing and washing.

Thursday, Oct. 20, 1870

Spent most of the day in reading, etc. Felt a little homesick.

In the evening Major and Lieut. from Fort Selden arrived. Told me
they thought Recruits would leave Fort Union on this day and be about
6-7 days coming.

Friday, Oct. 21, 1870

Major and Lieut. Clendenning left in the morning. "Spent most of
the day in reading and meditation. Stayed in Albuquerque until Satur­
day morning, Nov. 5, 1870. Spent the time in various ways reading, etc.
Paid Mr. Werner $15.00 for four weeks board (common price ten dollars
per week.)

Friday, Nov. 4th, 1870

Recruits arrived for the southern posts in charge of Lieut.
Cottel, 16th Inf. Three other officers are along, Lieut. Williams, Lieut.
Godwin and wife and Lieut. Phelps all of 8th Cavalry. They were willing
to give me transportation which they did. They invited me to their
mess and gave me a tent. Left Albuquerque Saturday morning at about
9 a.m. Crossed the river, passed a good-looking Indian town, road
some sandy. Camped at Pacha-ritas. (Mr. Hoppel) they want good
school there. Night cool and pleasant. About seven miles from
Albuquerque.

Sunday, Nov. 6, 1870

Left Pacharitas at about 8 a.m. Passed through Perilla and
Isletter, the latter large thriving Indian town. Arrived at Las Lunas
about 22-24 miles from Albuquerque at 12:30 p.m. Preached in the evening to the soldiers. They were attentive and quiet.

Monday, Nov. 7, 1870

Left Las Lunas early. Passed through Belaire and other towns. Arrived at lower Savanelle near sundown. Twenty-eight miles road some sandy and water run over. I walked all day as also day previous. Was some tired in the evening. One man was accidently shot but not dangerous.

Tuesday, Nov. 8, 1870

Left lower Savanelle and traveled about 22 miles to Limitare. Mr. Burgerhan keeps agency there. Some windy and little sand. Crossed Riopueroo and sandhills.

Wednesday, Nov. 9, 1870


Thursday, Nov. 10, 1870

Left camp arrived at Fort Craig at about 3 p.m. The officers inviting me to mess with them supplied me with comfortable Quarters, weather pleasant.

Friday --- visited Hospital. Lieut. Cottel went down to Parache; in the evening wrote to Mr. Rohney. The Lord has been with his unworthy servant. --- Capt. Wells. Co. A 8th Cavalry. Major F. W. Coleman,
Co. K 15th Infantry, Command Post.

Sunday, Nov. 13, 1870

Preached at 10 a.m. at Inf. Mess room. Good attendance of men officers and ladies. Subject: Joseph & Christ. Lieut. Cottel assisted. Evening preached at Cavalry Quarters. Luke the Great Supper. Large attendance, also of Officers and many ladies. This has been a good day. The Lord assisted. May His name be praised.

Monday, Nov. 14, 1870

Orders to start today for Selden and Cummings. May the Lord go with us.

Tuesday, Nov. 15, 1870

Some Methodists from Paerlto came to see me. They wanted a preacher. Brought me some apples. Left Craig at 2 p.m. Crossed the River some five miles below, good fording, low water, warm day. Encamped near Peraja, cool night. Slept with Lieut. Cottel bought onions -- fifty cents.

Monday, Nov. 21, 1870

Nice warm day. In the evening preached on the Lord's prayer. Good attendance, the Lord helped me. Major J. M. Williams, com.

Tuesday, Nov. 22, 1870

Left Selden at about nine a.m. Crossed the river a little above the fort with Lieut. Cottel, Godwin and Lady and myself in ambulance. Arrived at water tank Mr. Slocum's at 2 o'clock ahead of men. Half of road uphill and sandy. Somewhat dejected in morning about further journey, read Christ feeding 5,000 and other comforting passages. About 22 miles.
Wednesday, Nov. 23, 1870

Left Camp at daybreak. Steep hill and stony road some, saw a few antelopes. Arrived at Fort Cummings about 2:30 p.m. Was kindly entertained by Capt. Hedberg, Lieut. Ryan and Dr. H. G. Tidemann with the latter I spent the evening pleasantly. Might have preached for which I after felt sorry, although the evening was spent in religious conversation. Good dinner at 4 p.m. Lunch—evening.

Thursday, Nov. 24, 1870

Bought $1.95 stores from Commissary, 25 cents left. Dr. T. gave me some medicine, bacon and tea, etc. Kindly. Left at 9 a.m. Very rocky road first and hilly. Arrived at town of Mimers at 1:30 p.m. Stayed at Zeckendorfs' store. Supper and lodging and breakfast and dinner at the tavern free. Preached in the evening on Lord's Prayer, about sixteen present at the tavern. The Lord helped me. Officers and soldiers went on to Hot Springs.

Friday, Nov. 25, 1870

Left Mimers with a train the Lord provided at 2 p.m. a No. of Mexicans along. Traveled about six miles.

Saturday, Nov. 26, 1870

Left camp at 3 a.m. Arrived at Cow Spring station on 7:30 a.m. My right foot very lame. I had walked all the distance having no pay for transportation. Stage passed west. Might have applied to passage to Ralson, so as to preach Sunday, but neglected. Stayed at Cspg. until 1 1/2 traveled about 7 miles. One wagon broke down. Encamped for the night.
Sunday, Nov. 27, 1870

Left camp at 10 a. m. Traveled to Soldiers farewell about 6-7 miles, found water and encamped for the day. Windy.

Monday, Nov. 28, 1870

Left Camp at one p. m. Road rolling and rocky. Encamped at about sundown.

Tuesday, Nov. 29, 1870

Left Camp at 3 a. m. road good (cool and windy) Arrived south of Ralston at 7:30 a. m. Visited the place. Preached in the evening, Lord's Prayer, large audience, in barroom they made up a collection of $8.90 unexpected. (two miles from camp paid teamster $2.70 and some rations.)

Wednesday, Nov. 30, 1870

Stayed in Camp all day waiting for wagon left at Soldiers Farewell. No Preaching -- the evening.

Thursday, Dec. 1, 1870

Left Camp at about 12 n. Mexicans asked for reading matter. Made dry camp in the evening.

Friday, Dec. 2, 1870

Left Camp at about 3:30 a. m. Arrived at Stevens Peak at about 7:30 -- 8 a. m. Found water, dug some for mules. Left Camp at 2 p. m. Went through Cannios at dusk being detained some by wagon tire loose. Encamped at about 9 p. m. Moonlight.

Saturday, Dec. 3, 1870

Left Camp at 3 a. m. Arrived at San Simon at 7:30 a. m. Found water. Left S. S. at 12:30 p. m. Went to within six miles of Fort.
Dry Camp

Sunday, Dec. 4, 1870

Left Camp at 3:30 a.m. Arrived at Fort Bowie round about route at 8 a.m. Saw Capt. C. Russel who invited me to his house stayed with him. Preached in the evening on Daniel. Felt very tired. Good attendance.

Monday, Dec. 5, 1870

Stayed at Fort Bowie, Apache Pass. In the evening preached K. Comp. 3rd Cavalry Quarter on Christ stilling the tempest.

Tuesday, Dec. 6, 1870

Preached in G. Co. 1 Cavalry Quarters. He that will serve with me.

Wednesday, Dec. 7, 1870

At K. Co. Quarters on As Moses Lifted up the Serpent.

Thursday, Dec. 8, 1870

At G. Quarters, Lord's Prayer.

Friday, Dec. 9, 1870

Hear there are Recruits expected. The men will have an exhibition, etc. tonight. Kind of Theatre. Wrote a letter to Mr. Kean.

Saturday, Dec. 10, 1870

Nothing of special interest.

Sunday, Dec. 11, 1870

In the morning preached on Ten Virgins in K. Co. Quarters. Not very many present. Some on duty. In the evening preached to the prisoners in Guard house some ten men and guard. Good singing and attention. Evenings visited the Hospital. Great feast.
Wednesday, evening, 14th

Preached in Guard house on Twenty Third Psalm. Good attendance.

Thursday, Dec. 15, 1870

Recruits with one wagon and Lieut. Kyle of Col. Reuben F. Bernard's Co. G. 1st Cavalry arrived.

Friday, Dec. 16, 1870

Cold, somewhat stormy day. Preached in the evening on Joseph and his brothers. Fair attendance.

Saturday, Dec. 17, 1870

Foggy and cold. Left Fort Bowie, at about 9 a.m. Some 4-5 miles through Cannios some snowstorm. Arrived at Sulphur Springs at about 4 p.m. Distance some 30 miles. Night some cold and stormy. Rain sleet and snow (no guard)

Sunday, Dec. 18, 1870

Left Camp at sunrise. Traveled fast, cold, head wind. Arrived at St. Pedro station at one o'clock. Stayed in quarters with ten soldiers 30-32 miles.

Monday, Dec. 19, 1870

Left Rio St. Pedro at about 8 a.m. Met Ocheo, Tully and Delongs' train. The Indians had run of 30-34 head of cattle. Killed one and wounded two Mexican men. We took the wounded with us to Tucson. Encamped at 3 p.m. at Seneca station. Mr. Delong paid for my supper. Some 30-32 miles.

Tuesday, Dec. 20, 1870

Left Seneca Station at 7:30 a.m. Took the Mesa road. Went ahead with ours and Mr. Delong. Carriages arrived at Tucson at 1:30 p.m.
Some 25 miles. Col Dun gave me Mr. Riley's room and his table.

Wednesday, Dec. 21, 1870

Had talk with the Governor, and got ready to leave next day.

Pleasant weather. Cool night.

Thursday, Dec. 22, 1870

Mr. ________ was willing to take luggage and myself along to Pima villages. I took my _______ Thursday, Dec. 22, ______ baggage to his wagons. Mrs. Lord's and Williams gave a pass on the stage. Left Tucson at 3 p.m. Supper at Point of Mount at 6:30 p.m. Passed through Picacho at twelve o'clock. Nights cold. Arrived at 4 a.m. at blue waters. Had breakfast and at 8 a.m. at Sacaton.

Friday, Dec. 23, 1870

Arrived at the Agency at 9 a.m. Capt. Grosman left my things took ride with him to Maricopa wells. Saw different villages. Stayed over night.

Saturday, Dec. 24, 1870

Returned to the Agency.

Sunday, Dec. 25, 1870

Did not preach. Christmas.

Monday, Dec. 26, 1870

Received my baggage. Was engaged by Capt. Grossman as teacher for the Indians at $600.00 per year to commence 1st of January, 1871. Was raised to $1,000 I spent most of my time in the study of the Pima language.

February, 15, 1871

Received news that my salary had been raised to one thousand
dollars per annum. The Lord be praised for his mercies. Started school on the fifteenth of Feb. Some thirty-five scholars and some chiefs and parents were present, the children behaved well on the whole and showed some aptness to learn. Study figures in Pima, the alphabet and some words in English and singing.

February 16, 1871

Children arrived early about 38 in no. Same study continued. Some boys are very attentive and make fine progress. A few parents present.

February 17, 1871

School as usual children came in good season. Progress fair. About forty in number.

February 18, Saturday

No school.

February 19, Sunday.

February 20, Monday.

About 38 present. Usual lessons.

February 21, Tuesday

Twenty-one present. Eighteen boys and three girls. Attention and progress very good, when asked why the others did not come, they said on account of having nothing to eat. In inquiring at the village found that most of the parents being at work, they were taking care of the house.

February 22, 1871

About fourteen girls present and eighteen boys. Attention fair
and progress reasonable, had Louis the interpreter tell the children something about God and heaven and Christ. Wind and storm in the afternoon. A little rain at night.

February 23, Thursday

Nice day. Present fourteen girls and about 16-20 boys; attention fair, some visitors, Louis presented a little talk of Religion. Progress fair. More cleanliness.

February 24, Friday

Cold day. Present eighteen boys and ten girls. Progress and attention fair.

Maricopa Nov. 3, evening

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>Boy, little</th>
<th>Girl, girls</th>
<th>Little girl baby</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ipas, S. pi pas pl.</td>
<td>Sinjaaks, Sinjesaks</td>
<td>Jhumars, nokik</td>
<td>Marsajhaie, nokik</td>
<td>Jhachins</td>
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A wa n no qik | Vavatais A wa | A quaktis | A quakti chumpap | A jhats, A jhates | Smell coless | N'je Mats | A jhas | A jhas 1ls | A jha in ka ai sepio |

Give me some water to drink.

Writing lesson. b
Counting 1-40
Alphabet each bench for a backward.
Ba Be etc.
2. alphabet on chart and Ba be.
Counting, 1-50 ten hands. With fingers on blackboard
Writing lesson h.

BOYS NAMES

Hon tam
Kai-o-lam
An-tom
Ky-chuk
Jok-ki-la
La-mo
Louis
Kis-to
Ju-an
O-je-vaw
Ki-ar-le
Hu-an-e-man
No-e-la
Vai-ve-na-ke
Vi-ik-ju
Ja-pe
Ve-e
Jork-sa
Kawj-kut
A-ar-li

GIRLS NAMES

Sa-vi
Saw-ve
Hit-ka
Gualupe
Jo-hiaj
Se-er-pa
H-se-tap
A-ak-jom
Huan-emalia
Ba-ve-le
Pe-e-te-le
Ba-ve-le
Ni-e-mas-te
Emut-chit
A-aka-o-we
Kalanin
Hosepa
Sa-mut-chit
FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF DR. COOK'S TRIP TO ARIZONA,
taken from, Among the Pimas, pp. 24-31.

"September, 1, 1870, with a good supply of clothing, tent, blankets, a small melodeon, a Winchester rifle, some groceries and a few cooking utensils, I left Chicago.

"Through the kindness of a fellow laborer of the Episcopal Church, I received railroad passes to Kansas City where I stopped over Sunday. Attending church, I unexpectedly met a former Chicago friend, who kindly invited me to his house, and who on Monday procured me a pass to Kit Carson, so that instead of being out about six dollars for keeping the Sabbath, I gained some fifteen dollars or more. As we moved farther west, towns became few and far between. On some part of the railroad, troops were stationed to protect the road and stations against hostile Indians. At some places we would see buffaloes from the car windows.

"Kit Carson, Kansas, my terminus on the railroad, looked like a very hard place, yet nearby we beheld a small church and school house, showing how quickly these railroads helped to move forward Christian civilization.

"Upon inquiry I was told that a mule train had left a little before for Prescott, Arizona. So I took the stage, fare sixteen dollars or twenty five cents per mile, to Bent's Fort, or trading place. During the night we saw a rainbow by moonlight.

"At the stage station I waited several days. The Prescott train
arrived on Sunday, but some lady passengers objected to having a preacher travel with them.

"Mr. Price, the kind station keeper, learning of my errand, instead of charging me fifteen dollars, the usual price, was well satisfied with a few sermons instead. It also pleased him to join in singing some of the old familiar hymns, which he had not heard for years.

"Monday evening a Mexican ox train came along; the train was not heavy loaded, and the wagon master was willing to take me to Santa Fe, New Mexico, at a reasonable rate. No one of the Mexicans could talk English, so I made good progress in the Spanish language.

"We made good time with the ox train, traveling by day and by night. We soon overtook the Prescott train. The only difficulty which I encountered was that the Mexicans, like most whites out here, would travel on Sunday.

"On our first Sunday evening, a Mexican robber came into camp. He eyed my Winchester rifle so sharply that the wagon master noticed it and cautioned me. The next day, late in the evening he offered to help bring in the oxen for the night journey. He then imitated the howl of a prairie wolf to perfection, then stole the wagon master's mule and pony and decamped. All of this undoubtedly would not have happened, had we not traveled on Sunday.

"Traveling on the next Sunday and camping in the mountains near Las Vegas, an ox was stolen and after the following day we had to wait three days for the wagon master's brother, who was to take the
train to Santa Fe.

"Saturday, October 1. - Just one month from Chicago. We encamped about fifty miles from Santa Fe. I concluded to take a little clothing and rifle and to walk on ahead of the train, until the stage should overtake me, and then if there was room, I would go on with it to the town. When the stage came up to me, I secured passage and thus reached Santa Fe, Saturday evening. Rev. Dr. and Mrs. McFarland gave me a warm welcome. I preached for the good brother morning and evening, the chapel being full each time. They also had a large Sunday School. Here I learned that a good Presbyterian sister was already employed by the church, to labor among New Mexico's Indians. The thought came to me, if a defenseless woman can live and labor among the savages, there ought to be hope for a man who had seen war.

"Tuesday afternoon, October 4. - Feeling much refreshed and after Mrs. McFarland had supplied me with a good three day's lunch, I left Santa Fe with another ox train for Albuquerque, where we arrived Friday, October 7, and where I had to stay until November 6. But this gave me an opportunity to preach the Gospel and to do other kinds of missionary work.

"During one Sunday a Union soldier traveling with a mule train on that day, had fallen from the wagon and was killed. The government agent requested me to assist him in giving the departed a decent burial. This we did, with a number of whites and Mexicans attending.

"At Albuquerque, being now not far from the haunts of the Apaches, my purse got so low that I had to part with my Winchester
rifle.

"The kind postmaster, Mr. Berner, a German Catholic, of whom I rented a room, did not want to see me cook my own meals, so he only charged me fifteen collars for four weeks' board, instead of ten dollars a week, the usual rate at that time.

"Nov. 4, a large number of recruits arrived for the regular army, in charge of four young officers, with one officer's wife. They represented different church denominations, the officer in charge being Methodist.

"All were glad to have me travel with them and insisted on my sharing their mess. This I did with some misgivings, having doubts as to whether my purse could stand the strain. This, however, subsequently proved to be so light that I did not feel it at all. Here I had opportunities to preach to the soldiers evenings. Camping some four miles from Escondida, I started out early one morning on an errand, and with some books from an Albuquerque friend, to the house of a Mr. Baca, who had been advised of my coming. He could not talk English, but greeted me in polite Spanish, 'How do you do, my brother?' He then introduced me to his excellent wife and grown up children, and soon we sat down to a good breakfast. I could see at once that the brother was an educated and polished gentleman as well as a noble Christian. I asked him how long he had been a Protestant; he told me that he had been such since boyhood in the city of Mexico. The brother urged me to stop and stay with him; gladly would I have done so. After promising him to do all I could toward having a preacher sent to
him and his neighborhood, I bade him and his family good-bye.

"Thursday, Nov. 10, we arrived at Fort Craig; Major Coleman commanding, I pitched my tent outside with the recruits. But the major although a Catholic, soon came to me and insisted that I should be his guest during my stay at the fort.

"On the following Sunday, I had the privilege of preaching to the infantry companies in the forenoon, and to the cavalry in the evening, the major as well as the other officers and their wives, attending both meetings.

"Some of the officers and recruits stopped at that place.

"Tuesday morning, a few hours before starting again, three Mexican brethren from Peralta had come some seventy miles or more, requesting me earnestly to go back with them and be their preacher. With a nearly empty purse and with about six hundred miles before me, this was a temptation to me. I told them that I was on my way to the Indians, but that it would not be long until they could have a Protestant preacher. They then requested me to accept some nice apples, (nearly a half bushel), this I did, and then bade them God's speed.

"At Fort McRae we were kindly received by Captain Shorkley and others. Saturday, November 19th, we arrived at Fort Sheldon. Captain Fachet kindly entertained me. Being a Frenchman and a Catholic, he was afraid that the soldiers were too rough for Sunday services. However, he attended three meetings and was agreeably surprised at the good behavior of his soldiers.

"November 23 we arrived at Fort Cummings; here Captain Hedberg, a German, took care of me. Here I bought some groceries and the post
surgeon kindly gave me medicine, some bacon and tea. Cash on hand,
twenty-five cents, with about four hundred miles of road still ahead
of me; this made me feel a little blue and I was thinking of Christ
feeding the five thousand.

"Arrived at the town of Hibers, (not far from the present Deming),
November 24. Here I had to bid farewell to my kind army friends. As
I had plenty of good clothing they probably thought that my purse yet
contained several hundreds of dollars.

"Having a message to a Jewish firm from Albuquerque, they kindly
invited me to make my home with them. After preaching in the evening,
I received several invitations by good sisters to stay at their homes,
or at least to come and eat with them on the next day. Providentially
on the next day, a Mexican ox train was ready to start for Fort Bowie.
The kind wagon master, though heavy loaded, was willing for me to take
my baggage free. I persuaded him to keep my watch chain until redeemed.
I walked nearly all the time, from twenty to thirty miles a day; this,
however, made me lame on the foot which I had cut. Stopping over one
day not far from a large mining camp, I visited it. Upon inquiry I was
told that the men would like to have me preach to them in the evening.
It being a little cold they had transformed a large saloon into a chapel,
all the bottles, etc. having disappeared behind the counter. The place
was crowded, the singing demonstrated that many of the miners had been
at the church before. At the close, one of the men took his hat and
said that the service was not complete without a collection. I was
thus enabled to pay the freighter well and still have $6.40 on hand.

"Arrived at Fort Bowie Sunday, December 5, at 8 a.m. Here I
met Captain Russell. I had once fought side by side with this brave officer, before he was promoted. He was an Irish Catholic, the son of a pious mother whose prayers, I have no doubt, followed her son all his life. The captain was very glad to see me and glad to have me share his quarters and table for some twelve days. He would accompany me Sundays and other evenings, preaching to the soldiers and in all devotional exercises. At times he would tell me of his exploits and often narrow escapes from that great warrior, 'Cochise,' and I would tell him of my exploits as city missionary at Chicago, how at times some of his zealous country women would try and drive me away with a broomstick or poker, while others would invite me to dinner and at times to have prayers with them.

"December 17, I had an opportunity to travel to Tucson. Capt. Russell not only supplied me with all necessary rations, but also handed me ten dollars, telling me to take it, as I might need it. I have since had the pleasure of meeting the captain at this place.

"On our way to Tucson, we were overtaken by a great snow storm. When within twenty miles of Tucson, we picked up two wounded Mexican teamsters, they had been wounded and one of their number killed on Sunday afternoon, and their oxen had been driven off by Cochise’s warriors, all of which, likely would not have happened, had they not traveled on Sunday.

"Friday, Dec. 23, 1870, I arrived at Pima Agency, with nearly as much cash on hand as I had when I left Albuquerque. Captain Grossman, a German and an army officer, was the agent. He and his noble Christian wife gave me a hearty welcome. The agent took me over the reservation,
and on January 1, 1871, I received an appointment as government teacher.

"My health was excellent, and the journey, specially that part of it when I had little or no means of my own, through the wild Apache country, had benefited me greatly.

"During the time since I had left the railroad, I had preached twenty-two times, I had given many other addresses, and had many conversations with individuals on the subject of religion, so that the scanty provision for my long journey and my frequent straits turned out 'rather to the furtherance of the gospel.' It was not until several months after I reached the Agency at Sacaton that I learned that there were others besides myself who were anxious to have the gospel and Christian civilization brought to a people, who are perishing for want of it. You had been trying for two years, to find somebody to go to these Indians, while I had been trying for that length of time to find an opportunity to go.

"On receiving the circular, referring to a mission to the Pima Indians - I read it with the deepest interest and felt like saying the Lord bless our sisters in their noble work and may none of us grow weary in well doing, knowing that the promise is sure. 'In due time ye shall reap. if ye faint not.'"
APPENDIX B.

MISCELLANEOUS CHURCH STATISTICS
STATISTICS OF THE CHURCHES

as of March 31, 1947

as reported by the Presbyterial Stated Clerks

from Minutes of General Assembly

1947

pp. 451 - 453

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCH</th>
<th>Membership</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Communicants</td>
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<td>Gila Crossing</td>
<td>121</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phoenix Indian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salt River</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vah Ki</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
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<td>Sells</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Miguel</td>
<td>58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Topawa</td>
<td>50</td>
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<tr>
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<td>48</td>
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<td>52</td>
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<td>Escuela</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clarkdale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ft. McDowell</td>
<td>82</td>
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TOTALES                      | 1,626      | 1,125      |
VALUES OF PROPERTIES
ON PIMA AND PAPAGO FIELDS

PIMA FIELD

1. Sacaton
   - Church: $35,798
   - Manse: $7,392
   - a. Upper Santan: Chapel - $800
   - b. Stotonic: Chapel - $7,810
   - c. Lower Santan: Helper's House - $1,878

2. Gila Crossing
   - Church: $2,400
   - a. Co-op
     - Manse: $1,000
     - Chapel: $600

3. Blackwater
   - Church: $5,000

4. Vah Ki
   - Church: $7,810
   - a. Bapchule
     - Manse: $1,500
     - Chapel: $500
   - b. Goodyear
     - Chapel: $3,000
   - c. Snaketown
     - Chapel: $400

5. Salt River
   - Church: $12,500
   - Manse: $6,250
   - Worker's House: $1,250
   - Garage: $230

6. Maricopa First
   - Church: $3,000

7. Maricopa Second
   - Church: $1,875
   - Manse: $1,095

8. Ft. McDowell
   - Church: $3,595
   - Community Building: $545

PAPAGO FIELD

1. Sells
   - Church: $2,030
   - Manse: $2,500
   - Small House: $500
   - Garage: $500
   - a. Santa Rose
     - Chapel and residence: $1,095
   - b. Ajo
     - Chapel: $300
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>c. Darby Wells</td>
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<td>$ 200</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Manse</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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<td><strong>$164,068</strong></td>
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The above information was taken from the files of the Board of National Missions, New York City. Wyckoff to Hamilton, New York, (July 15, 1947), Hamilton personal file.
APPENDIX C.

ACTIVITIES OF CHURCH SESSIONS
The following extracts from the session minutes of the various churches illustrate some of the activities of the session:

Mr. and Mrs. ——- having some domestic estrangement were brought before the meeting, admonished and encouraged to be kindly affectioned with each other as outlined in the Bible. ¹

The session is to take charge of the farm of James H. Ellis during his stay at Cook Bible School."²

——-’s story of mistreatment by her husband was heard and it was decided that if, after being warned, the husband continued to mistreat her, he be turned over to the authorities. ³

After discussing the needs of Fred Emerson, Thomas Lewis was appointed to look after the providing of wood for the brother. ⁴

———, ———, and ———, not being able to be present and having stated that they were going to continue to play for dances as long as there was money in it, it was decided to suspend them for six months. A Committee was appointed to tell these men about the action of the session and also to talk to ——— about his being at the dances. ——— having shown his true Christian spirit in connection with the dancing problem was encouraged to go on as a member and to try to bring the other men back. ⁵

Please accept my resignation as elder in the Blackwater Church, I still protest my innocenoy as to the committing of any morally evil deed with ———, but in view of my present sentence to serve time in jail, I think it best to give you my resignation to act upon as you see fit. ———’s resignation is accepted and his name will be removed from the books of the church as an elder. ⁶

¹ Session Minutes of the Salt River Presbyterian Church, p. 132.
² Session Minutes of Blackwater Presbyterian Church, p. 5.
³ Ibid., p. 9.
⁴ Ibid., p. 10.
⁵ Ibid., pp. 14-16.
⁶ Ibid., p. 30.
------ came before the session for joining the Catholic football team and playing on Sunday. After advice from each elder and the moderator, ------ promised to come back to his church and do better.

We can not close this meeting without expressing our hope that these two, ------ and ------ after prayerful study of the Word of God may soon realize the awfulness of the sin into which they have fallen.

The matter of larger contributions to the Home Board, especially from those who have not suffered so much from the scarcity of water, was considered, and efforts will be made to bring this about.

The irregular attendance at church of a few of our younger members was taken into consideration, as also the course to be pursued to remedy, if possible this evil.

It was decided to ask ------ to keep out of the San Tan pulpit for the reason that he has been a disturbing element against the session.

------ having made a renewal of his faith in Christ and a promise to lead a sober Christian life, was restored to full membership of the church.

Mr. ------ also brought out that there is old Indian singing and dancing by the other Indians at Flats and some wrong happened. It was decided to see the agent about these things and ask why such things are allowed.

---

7 Session Minutes of San Miguel Presbyterian Church, p. 45.
8 Session Minutes of Vah Ki Presbyterian Church, p. 107.
9 Session Minutes of Sacaton Presbyterian Church, 1895-1899, p. 1.
10 Ibid.
11 Session Minutes of Sacaton Presbyterian Church, 1914-, p. 20.
12 Ibid., p. 23.
13 Ibid., p. 48.
The session voted to extend help to Carl Smart in the picking of his cotton as he has been in the hospital unable to work.14

The session was constituted a court to consider the charge of immorality against ---- brought by the Gila Crossing Church and to try him. Each elder, upon being asked if he would lay aside all personal prejudices and would judge the case solely on evidence, replied in the affirmative. The defendant pleaded guilty to the charge and was asked to retire until the court should decide what should be done. After due deliberation, it was voted that ---- be asked to appear before the congregation of the Pima First Presbyterian Church, confess his guilt and sorrow and promise to live an honorable upright life in the future. It was decided that ----'s name be placed on the suspended list of the Pima First Presbyterian Church for six months.15

It was also discussed about helping the widows in getting their fields ready so they will plant some cotton and it was carried.16

---

14 Ibid., p. 62.
15 Ibid., p. 79.
16 Ibid., p. 86.
APPENDIX D.

SKETCH OF TEMPORARY SITE OF TUCSON INDIAN SCHOOL
Temporary site Tucson Indian School, 1887-1888;
Taken from No. 1146, Letters Received, Arizona, 1888,
Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
APPENDIX E.

SKETCH OF FIRST SITE

OF THE TUCSON INDIAN SCHOOL
Site of Tucson Indian School
from 1880 to 1908
APPENDIX F.

SKETCH OF PRESENT

SITE OF THE TUCSON INDIAN SCHOOL.
APPENDIX G.

MISCELLANEOUS PICTURES
Tucson Indian School about 1889. The building at the right is "Old Main," University of Arizona. Indian and Mexican homes in the foreground.

Taken sometime between 1895 and 1903.
Memorial marker at site of first Pima day school, erected in 1938.

Dr. Charles H. Cook at Tucson Indian School, taken between 1908 and 1913.
Sacaton Presbyterian Church
Taken 1941

Vah Ki Presbyterian Church; camp meeting shade to right. Taken 1942.

Gila Crossing Presbyterian Church and manse. Taken 1941
Blackwater Presbyterian Church
Taken 1942

Maricopa First Presbyterian Church, Taken 1942

Salt River Presbyterian Church
Taken 1942
Lower Santan Chapel
Taken 1942

Co-op Chapel
Taken 1942

Snaketown Chapel
Taken 1941
Sells Presbyterian Church and camp meeting scene, Taken 1941

San Miguel Presbyterian Church
Taken 1938
Ruins of Tucson Papago Presbyterian Church Taken 1941.

Southside Presbyterian Church Taken 1947
APPENDIX H.

MAPS OF THE RESERVATIONS
SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND CHAPELS

A. GILA RIVER RESERVATION
B. SALT RIVER AND FORT MCDOWELL RESERVATIONS
C. PAPAGO RESERVATION
MAP OF SALT RIVER AND FORT MCDOWELL INDIAN RESERVATIONS SHOWING APPROXIMATE AREAS UNDER CULTIVATION JANUARY 1, 1938.

LEGEND

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
LAND DIVISION
SACATON, ARIZONA
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